



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

THE CATTLE TRADES OF SCOTLAND, 1603-1745

by Alexander J. Koufopoulos

Ph.D. Thesis

The University of Edinburgh

2004

ABSTRACT

THE CATTLE TRADES OF SCOTLAND, 1603-1745

The cattle trade of Scotland is generally considered as a very important element of early modern Scottish economy and society. After peace was established in the Borders, and along with the gradual pacification of the Highlands, a regular trade in livestock developed over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the principal component of which consisted of large-scale cattle exports to England.

A number of obstacles stood in the way of the fledging industry. The credit economy was not sufficiently developed to accommodate the droving trade or to minimise the risk of dishonest dealers, bankruptcies and defaults. Also, smugglers and thieves regularly disrupted the trade, and the Privy Council repeatedly tried to curb illegal activities, especially in the Highlands. Yet, despite difficulties and regional differences, most of Scotland's territories appear to have engaged in the cattle trade.

Previous research has often referred to the cattle trade. The few studies of the subject though, are either too concise to adequately explore the topic or lack the perspective of an economic history. In this thesis, wider economic factors such as the credit economy, lawlessness and Irish competition are discussed and related to price trends, export figures and general costs and profits.

Present assumptions have been re-examined, and new research data has been collected and analysed along with existing evidence, in an effort to fill the gap in the secondary literature. It has been found in this thesis that both livestock trade and cattle prices followed similar trends. After decades of modest growth or stagnation in the first half of the 17th century, a market infrastructure developed by the 1660s, which allowed the cattle business to reach unprecedented levels. The growth was unevenly distributed in geographic and social terms, and was mainly accounted for by a small number of rich landowners/businessmen in the Southwest. Trade and prices stabilised to this new equilibrium for more than 80 years (with many fluctuations), until the mid-18th century when they grew significantly further.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the staff at the National Archives of Scotland for their polite and efficient service, assistance and advice.

I am also thankful to the members of staff in the department of Economic and Social History, Edinburgh University and in particular to Dr. Alex Murdoch in the department of Scottish History.

Fellow postgraduate student Philipp Roessner has provided valuable advice and feedback, and Martin Rorke, former postgraduate in the department, has also been extremely helpful and generous with his experience.

I am fortunate to have received the supervision of Professor Ian Blanchard, who has been a source of valuable advice and support as well as enthusiasm and encouragement, all throughout.

Finally, I would like to thank Maria-Helen Peridis, Clare Moore, Kostas Rekleitis, and especially Jennifer Watson, for their eagerness to provide support and advice, not only on this thesis, but on various other occasions.

The Cattle Trades of Scotland, 1603-1745.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. The Borders: The Establishment of Peace after 16031

Background

King James and Change in Administration and Policy (1603)

Relentless Pursuits and Punishment of Thieves (1603-1610)

Harsher Policies and Punishment of Potential Thieves (1603-1610)

Tidying Up the Borders, and Dying Flickers of Lawlessness before the King's Visit
(1611-1618)

Normality and Peace with Rare Incidences of Thieving (After 1618)

Scotland: Lawlessness, Banditry and the Cattle Trade in the Seventeenth Century

Chapter 2. General Social Background, Practices and Local Control13

Clan Conflict and Lawlessness

Disorder, Attitudes and Practices

Local Watches, Blackmail and Protection Rackets

Official Watches of the Eighteenth Century

Places, Centres of Lawlessness

Chapter 3. Cattle Thefts Recorded with the Privy Council24

The Privy Council as a Historical Source; Prevalence of Thefts
Cattle Thefts and the Diverse Range of Cases
Rebellions, Personal and Political Attacks
Bandits and the Chiefs’ and Landowners’ Responsibilities
The Declining Cases of Large Scale Disorder in the Second Half of the Seventeenth
Century

Chapter 4. Bandits, Cattle Thieves, and Justice36

Administration, Policies and Justice Changes Accounting to Peak of Arrests (1624-7)
Exiles; Repeated Offenders
A Theft of an Englishman’s Cattle
Oaths and the Limited Capacity of the Privy Council
Privy Council Evidence: Discussion and Limitations
Lawlessness in the Eighteenth Century

**Scotland: Building the Commercial Infra-structure
in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries**

Chapter 5. Evidence on Trysts and Local Markets by Region49

The Trysts
The Southwest
Skye and Hebrides
Argyll
The North
Aberdeenshire, Angus and Moray

Chapter 6. Sources of Finance58

Background: Sales, Purchases, Farmers and Drovers

Promissory Notes and Bank Notes

Scottish Bankers and Investment in the Cattle Trade

Competition Between the “Old” and the “New” Bank

The Financial Problems of the Process

Tentative Markets and Unreliable Drovers

Dishonest Traders

Contemporary Discussions, Concerns, and Suggestions

Chapter 7. The Droving Journey, and Costs70

Tolls, Roads and Bridges

Safety, Passes, and the Disarming Acts

The Journey’s General Costs

Estimates and Accounts of Total Journey Costs

Conclusions

**Market Structures and Price Movements in the Seventeenth
and Early Eighteenth Centuries**

**Chapter 8. Cattle Prices: Methodological Problems, the Advantages and
Limitations of the Sources.....79**

The Difficulty in Determining Long-term Price Trends within Markets

Grain and Sheep as Unreliable Indicators of Cattle Prices

Chapter 9. Conclusions and Discussion on Cattle Prices87

Stability and Increase of Prices: the Seventeenth Century
Fluctuation and Steady Increase of Prices (During Pre-Union Years)
Continuation of the Pre-existing Pattern in the Early Eighteenth Century
Geographic Variations
POSTSCRIPT. The Great Leap in Prices from Mid-Eighteenth Century

Scottish Cattle Exports to England, 1603-1745

Chapter 10 From Hides and Beef to Live Animals99

The Export of Hides until the Seventeenth Century: Background, Bans and Figures
The Export of Hides in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century
The Trade in Flesh/Beef
The Background of the Cattle Trade: Pre-Seventeenth Century

Chapter 11 The English Demand108

Background, Estimates and Exports to England
Cattle Destinations in England
Welsh and Local Competition for English Demand

**Chapter 12 Scottish Exports to England, 1610-1691: The Scottish
Port-books114**

The Early Seventeenth Century

Scottish Cattle Exports to England Banned (1615, 1626-1627, 1646)

The Crisis of 1625-1627: Protectionism, Survey of Prices, Arguments and Discussions	
The Debate; King, Privy, Lairds and Local Authorities	
The Survey Reports	
Hides: Free Trade vs. Protectionism	
Smuggling to England and Evasion of Duty	
Illegal Cattle Exports to England during the Ban Years	
Adverse Weather, Lent and the Prohibition of Slaughter of Animals (1615-7, 1633)	
The King’s Visit and Consumption of Cattle	
Scottish Exports to England, 1666-1691	
Results and Discussion	
The Concentration of Revenue from the Cattle Trade	
Places of Exporters, Cattle Origins	
Limitations of the Sources	
Chapter 13 Scottish Exports to England: Other Sources	143
The English Ledgers (1696-1707)	
Scotland’s Total Exports	
Chapter 14 Irish Exports: the English and Scottish Ban	149
Background of the Irish Cattle Trade: From Development to Crash (War) to Full Recovery (1614-1664)	
Estimates of Volume of Cattle Trade from Ireland to Scotland before the Bans	
England’s Acts Prohibiting Irish Traffic (1662-1670)	
Subsequent Scottish Ban on Irish Cattle and Attempted Enforcement	
The Prohibition and the Scottish Economy: The Arguments	
Consequences of the Ban in Ireland and England and the Eventual Repeal (1670-1750)	

POSTSCRIPT Irish Economy Transformed and Later Developments, after the mid-eighteenth Century

Chapter 15 Scottish Administration and Policy: The Privy Council and the Prohibition of Irish Traffic164

Inherent Problems of Enforcing the Ban
The Prevalence of Smuggling and Confiscation of Cattle; Import Exceptions for Breeding Purposes
Resources Allocated to Enforce the Ban, and Repeated Attempts to Control Irish Traffic

Chapter 16 Conclusion: Scottish Cattle Exports to England, 1603-1745172

The Borders: The Establishment of Peace and of Scottish Cattle Exports to England after 1603
Scottish Exports to England, 1660-1707.
Continuation of the Pre-existing Pattern in the Early Eighteenth Century
POSTSCRIPT. The Great Leap in the Cattle Trades from Mid-Eighteenth Century

APPENDIX

EXCERPTS 190

APPENDIX 1: 1605 Privy Council Article about Policy and Order in the Borders

APPENDIX 2: 1615 Example of Proclamation Against the Slaughter of Livestock

APPENDIX 3: 1626 Example of some of the Discussions and Arguments found in the Privy Council Records about Protectionism vs. Free Trade

APPENDIX 4: 1626 Consultation of the Council with Nobles and Commissioners about Export Prohibition

APPENDIX 5: An Example of the Reports sent for the Privy Council Survey in 1626 (Linlithgow)

APPENDIX 6: Two Examples of the Reports sent for the Privy Council Survey in 1627 (Perth and Fife)

APPENDIX 7: Examples of Accounts of Cattle Traders

LIST OF TABLES204

TABLE 1: Cattle Exported from Scotland, 1666-1691

TABLE 2: English Cattle Imports from Scotland in Relation to Total English Imports and Exports

TABLE 3: Estimate of Cattle Exports

TABLE 4: Number of Cattle Exported to England by Drover, 1666-1691

TABLE 5: Numbers of Cattle Exports Among the Highest Drovers/Exporters

TABLE 6: Proportion of Cattle Exported per Month (In Alisonbank, Castleton, and Dumfries)

TABLE 7: Estimates of Scottish Exports 1703-1704

TABLE 8: Irish Cattle and Scotland: Contemporary Estimations

TABLE 9. The Revised Export Rates/Duties before/after 1627, 1663 (based on 5% of value 1641)

TABLE 10: Distribution of Livestock in Ireland according to age, type and gender in 1672, in thousands

TABLE 11: Distribution of Irish exports to various countries, according to type of good, in 1719, in thousand pounds

TABLE 12: End of four-year average number of Irish livestock exports, by type of

good	
TABLE 13: Value of exported Irish cattle products in absolute value and as a percentage of total Irish exports, in thousand pounds	
TABLE 14: Value of exported live Irish cattle and their products in mid-18th century, in thousand pounds	
TABLE 15: Number of Irish Exports, per type.	
TABLE 16: Number of Irish exports into England in 1685, per type, in thousand items	
TABLE 17: Sales in Crieff and Falkirk: Contemporaries' Estimates	
TABLE 18: Privy Council Entries on Lawlessness & Cattle Thefts	
TABLE 19: Prevalence of Lawlessness and Cattle Thieving	
TABLE 20: Journey Costs (Per head of cattle, per day, in Sterling unless indicated)	
TABLE 21: Prices of Cattle, 16th-19th century (in £ Sterling)	
TABLE 22: Cattle Prices (Averages/Rounded in Italics)	
TABLE 23: 1626 Justices of Peace Investigations (In £ Scots Rounded)	
TABLE 24: 1627 Justices of Peace Investigations (In £ Scots Rounded)	
TABLE 25: 1626/1627, Price Change Percentage	
TABLE 26: Leven and Melville Accounts (prices per carcass, by Month/Year)	
TABLE 27: Carskey, Argyll Prices (by Month/Year)	
TABLE 28: Melville Estate Prices (by Month/Year)	
TABLE 29: Difference of Price Estimates Typical of Privy Council Valuations	
TABLE 30: Volume of Sales and Price of cattle (bought from the Earl of Stair before and during English threat)	
TABLE 31: Account of Losses of Laird McIntosh and his Tenants, at Kingsmills of Inverness, in 1690	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography	263
--------------------	-----

FIGURES

3.1 Prevalence of Lawlessness and Cattle Thieving26

8.1 Price Difference between Cattle of Different Groups and Ages
 Melville Estate)81

8.2 Cattle Prices in Different Months/Seasons (1690-1701) £ Scots82

8.3 Prices of Cattle, 16th-19th Century (from Scattered Estimates)84

9.1 Beef/Cow/Oxen Carcass Prices, £ Scots89

9.2 Prices of Fresh Beef per Stone, £ Scots90

9.3 Prices of Milk Cows and Calves, £ Scots91

9.4 Cattle Prices (incl. Stots, Oxen, Cattle, Marts), £ Scots.....92

10.1 Scottish Hides Exports, 1328-1598. In dakers102

11.1 Estimates Scottish Cattle Exports, 1618-1800110

12.1 Total Cattle Exported from each Custom Point (Pie Chart).....132

12.2 Cattle Exported from each Custom Point (Line Chart)133

12.3 Proportion of Cattle Exported per Month134

13.1 Scottish Cattle Exports, 1681-1703146

14.1 Irish Cattle Exported to England and Scotland (incl. Scattered Estimates)..152

MAPS

2.1 The Moving Patrol (Inglish, p.221)21

5.1 Markets Authorised by 1707 (Haldane)51

16.1 Scottish Cattle Markets and Trade 1605-1655174

16.2 Scottish Cattle Markets and Trade, 1660-1745179

ABBREVIATIONS

In the Notes and References the following abbreviations have been used

A P S	Acts of the Parliament of Scotland
GD	National Archives of Scotland, Register House, Gifts and Deposits
NRA	National Archives of Scotland, Register House, National Register of Archives
RPC	The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Series 1-3 (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 1877-1908).

Introduction

God and Sanct Petir was gang and be the way
Heiche up in Ardgyle quhair thair gait lay.
Sanct Petir said to God in a sporty word
"Can ye not make a heilandman of this horss tourd?"
God turnd owre the horss turd with his pykit staff,
And up start the helandman blak as ony draff.
Quod God to the helandman "Quhair wilt thow now?"
"I will down in the lawland, Lord, and thair steill a kow".¹

In the early modern history of Scotland, cattle played a very significant role, involving many economic, social and political parameters. From the seventeenth century, and up until the nineteenth century, the trade in live cattle constituted a major industry of Scotland and according to standard historiography, this was especially true of the Highlands where natural barriers limited the availability of arable land. Early-modern lawlessness and cattle rustling (satirized in the above poem) were gradually replaced by a regular trade, which contributed much to Scotland's economy. By the time of the Act of Union, it was the Highlanders who could question the honesty of the Lowlanders in the "Better sell nolt than nations" aphorism. The trade of live cattle continued all through the mid-nineteenth century, when technological improvements made the droving of cattle a very slow and costly business. Although the story of the cattle trade is naturally interwoven with the general changes occurring in Scotland during the relevant period, it was not feasible or practical to separately deal with these changes in this thesis.

In this study, an effort is made to summarize the evidence on the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century cattle industry provided by modern historical studies as

¹ Bingham, C., *Beyond the highland line : Highland history and culture* (London: Constable, 1991), p.146.

well as unexplored primary sources. Most historians have emphasized the importance of the cattle trade and have tried to analyze the economic and social issues surrounding the industry. The cattle trade features in many pages of historical monographs and articles but an attempt to explore the issue in detail and provide a comprehensive history has not been attempted yet. The only (partial) exception is Haldane's *Drove Roads of Scotland*, which is an excellent, and thoroughly researched analysis.² Although Haldane has gathered a substantial wealth of information from primary sources, he focuses on the geography of the cattle trade, as the title of the book suggests. D. Woodward's article about the Scottish exports in livestock in the second half of the seventeenth century has also added to the existing knowledge but it was felt that the issue could not be fully explored in such a concise study.³ The port-books D. Woodward examined were revisited and yielded a lot of additional information. Finally, Gibson and Smout in their *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* have created a longitudinal price index of cattle and livestock prices, which has formed here an extremely useful database to which a number of other records and estimates were added.⁴

The main evidence used in modern historical analyses concerning agriculture and the economy is usually derived from the *Agricultural reports* of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, which have been extensively used in a variety of topics by many historians. However there are no such comprehensive sources for an earlier period and an economic history of the cattle trade has to rely on assembling evidence from a variety of sources. The available evidence however remains incomplete and for the period examined here a macroeconomic economic history, which would encompass a quantitative set of data and also satisfactorily account for the trade, is not possible. Cattle export figures are barely available for two-thirds of the seventeenth century and there are no such figures at all after the Act of Union. Further, total export figures, which would allow an assessment of the importance of the cattle industry in relation to other sections of the economy, are

² Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997).

³ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century" in Cullen, L. M. and T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), pp. 147-167.

⁴ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

absent as well. Nevertheless, it was deemed important to assess the significance of a trade so talked about in primary sources and historical studies and an effort was made to collect the available evidence. The main primary sources used in this study consist of

- 1) The surviving Scottish port-books of the 17th century, which record cattle traffic to England. The port-books also provide additional information on the exporters; they contain dated entries from each individual exporter which list the number of cattle exported, the custom extracted, as well as the name and details of each exporter. The series for the Border exports points is not complete and, as discussed in a later section, is subject to certain biases. Also, illegal exporters were repeatedly reported to evade these official customs and any quantitative results from this set of records have to be increased by a significant percentage. Yet, for certain periods, the port-books contain reliable and comprehensive information on livestock exports, and have therefore been used extensively.
- 2) The English Ledgers, which record Scottish exports to England for a series of years after the period covered by the port-books. Similar to the latter, this set of sources also records only the legal exports/imports between the two countries. Again, the series is incomplete (especially during the pre-union years), and the records mainly contain yearly gross figures. The valuation of goods can be biased, but for livestock entries there exist per head figures and that makes the records extremely valuable.
- 3) The Privy Council Registers, which contain the Council's dealings with the King, local administrators, the people, as well as public policy. These contain large sections of records about law and order, cattle thefts, tolls on roads, charters, regulations concerning trade, as well as other relevant information. A later section in this thesis deals extensively with the nature of the diverse set of entries. Generally however, it is clear that the information extracted from such central bodies is usually subject to inherent distortions, especially in relation to the circumstances occurring at a local level and the validity behind the reported instances of lawlessness, trade problems etc. Yet, the information in the Privy Council records contains an enormous amount of information on various topics;

many entries, correspondence and reports in the records are sufficiently detailed to allow for their critical assessment.

- 4) The “Gifts and Deposits” and “National Register of Archives” collections of the National Archives of Scotland, which contain a number of accounts of livestock traders and landowners, as well as additional evidence. These mainly consist of personal or estate records, and usually contain trading accounts in relation to cattle sales and purchases. The information is casually written, and it is usually sparse, incomplete and lacking a broad or long term perspective. On the other hand, it reveals a perhaps more truthful picture behind specific circumstances and the local business. It is also mentioned in the conclusion, the “National Archives of Scotland” staff are in the process of slowly making more records available into a searchable database, making this set of archives one of the most promising sources for further research.
- 5) Accounts by contemporaries and travelers such as the ones by M. Martin, or T. Pennant, which have also been used extensively. Travelers’ accounts naturally reflect the biases of each writer. Collectively, the circumstances which are described are usually written by Englishmen touring Scotland, or Lowlanders travelling in the Highlands or Isles. Naturally, foreigners’ interpretations are frequently incorrect and biased. The same applies to contemporaries’ opinions and analyses on trade, which have to be critically examined in light of additional evidence or subsequent historical outcomes. Such is the case in particular with the pamphlet literature in the National Library, a collection of records which contain contemporaries’ opinions and writings on trade and the union (a set of sources further discussed in the conclusion of this thesis).

In addition to the above sources, a substantial number of secondary sources have been examined. Modern historical studies have provided valuable interpretations and insights as well as indirect access to primary sources, which were unavailable or inaccessible for the purposes of this thesis. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that some of that information has been used cautiously. A small number of the secondary sources quoted here (such as the studies by MacAonghuis or Murray for example) were intended to be general introductions to specific topics and not

academically rigorous studies, and they lack a proper noting/referencing system under which the evidence can be consulted and validated.

Generally, the present discussion on the cattle trade is not complete and many questions arise in the secondary literature. The whole system of banking and financing in relation to the cattle trade seems to pose many questions. Was the cattle trade, after all, an industry, which perpetuated underdevelopment (due to its primitive agricultural and banking procedures) as Devine suggested?⁵ Or was it the key to agrarian change and development as Adam Smith asserted?⁶ Moreover, the results of an ineffective financing system to rural income, redistribution and change are not adequately explored either. Relevant to such issues, questions about what group of people engaged in the cattle trade, the extent of their profits, and their subsequent economic activities are important, and an attempt is made here to analyse such questions. The role of the cattle trade in relation to the depopulation, emigration and estate crisis of the Highlands is not explored either. Cattle farms did require expanses of land and the question of the relationship between landowners, crofters and smaller farmers is significant. The relationship between the livestock trade and lawlessness has not been sufficiently analysed either in the secondary literature. Where did livestock thefts usually take place? What was the social and economic background on which they occurred? The origins and destinations of cattle journeys are also tentative and sometimes confusing. How much did regions of the Highlands, Lowlands or Isles contribute to the cattle trade externally (exports to England) or internally? And which were the socio-economic and agricultural regional differences, which explain that distribution?

An attempt has been made here to also answer questions of a macroeconomic perspective and to explain the trends and fluctuations of the cattle trade and prices at the period when the livestock business reached substantial proportions. The issue of Irish competition to satisfy the English demand for meat as well as its consequences in Scotland also needed clarification. There are many other questions, which remain unanswered and some of the aforementioned issues also remain elusive. Yet, an

⁵ Devine, T. M., D. Dickson, et al., *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1983). p.12.

⁶ Ibidem.

effort has been made here to build on the work of Haldane and Gibson with the above primary sources in an effort to add to the existing knowledge of the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century cattle trades.

Chapter 1.

The Borders: The Establishment of Peace after 1603

Background

The Borders between England and Scotland had been an area infamous for lawlessness and banditry, and any overland trade with England was subject to disruption and peril before the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In this section, the pacification of the borders is described in order to explain and justify the choice of 1603 as the starting point for this thesis.

The reivers had been a major problem at the time of King Henry VIII's reign, so much so, that he considered to support others to take their place as inhabitants of the Borders. This plan, however, did not produce any noteworthy results in his or later time. In fact, the situation kept deteriorating to such an extent that local officials tried to take advantage of outlaw rivalries by supporting one against the other. It was at this difficult time that Queen Elizabeth died, much to the local officials' and the reivers' delight. The latter, among whom were the notorious West March reivers, considered this time of diminished law enforcement (until the naming of the new ruler), as an opportunity for further pillage. Consequently, in the roughly two years or 111 weeks that followed the Queen's death, a period that came to be known as "The Busy Week", more than five thousand stolen farm animals (about 1,300 cattle as well as 3,800 sheep and goats) were transported across the Borders.¹

¹ Watson, G., *The Border Reivers*. (Warkworth: Sandhill, 1994), pp. 192-195; Fraser, G., *The Steel Bonnets. The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*. (London: Pan Books, 1979), pp. 360-366.

This uncertain social environment was detrimental to the development of trade. Livestock, and cattle in particular, were valuable commodities in the region, at a time when such a trade would have been one of the most important economic activities, but continuous raids meant high losses, making livestock-trading an unnecessarily risky enterprise. Moreover, traders and landowners from other places in Scotland were hesitant to sell a drove of animals in England, as it would have to pass through the dangerous Borders zone.

King James and Change in Administration and Policy (1603)

The vision of the new king about a unified country was closely related to the solution of the reivers' problem, and James sought to eliminate the borders between the two regions and the lawlessness that was associated with them. Wanting to demonstrate his determination towards the full enforcement of the law, James ordered the execution of several criminals during his southward journey to claim his throne.² It is apparent in the Privy Council records that the measures against lawlessness were not confined only to these executions. He went on to dismantle the Border administrative, legal and military infrastructure, as well as to rename the Border Counties as "Middle Shires".³ The latter was of little practical consequence, but it served mostly as a proclamation that the borders between Scotland and England had been eradicated.⁴ Having dealt with the administrative aspects of the unification, King James issued an early warning to reivers that, unless they surrendered to his authority and obeyed the state law, they would be crushed.⁵

In order to facilitate the enforcement of the law and the control of the reivers, a careful strategy was planned. The new king and administration, determined to dedicate a significant part of the resources at their disposal to the return to safety of the regions that had previously been plagued by robbery and plunder, summoned a committee especially to that effect.⁶ Council records clearly indicate that the majority of the committee members were people that already held office with the

² Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

³ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

⁴ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

⁵ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

⁶ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp.192-195.

Privy Council and were very aware of the Border situation.⁷ The task of the committee was not easy and seven years, from 1603 to 1610, passed before the authorities were finally able to exercise considerable control on the outlaws. The measures employed by the committee were aggressively pursued and most changes had taken place within the first four years of this period.

Relentless Pursuits and Punishment of Thieves (1603-1610)

The transitory period from rampant lawlessness towards safety started with the abolition of the Borders, the removal of the Border military and the elimination of the post of Border Warden. (One can consult the excerpt of Appendix 1, for a sample entry in the Privy Council, illustrating some of the measures and concerns about policy in the Borders). At the same time, great care was being taken to ensure that the reivers realised that the old days of slack control were over and that the new administration would be relentless in its prosecution of outlaws. Such measures brought about probably the most prominent social change of the region, as life in the Borders had been based for centuries on the premise that outlaw activity would be present as part of everyday life. The local authority figures appointed for the job (such as Lord Hume assisted by Sir William Cranston in the Scottish March region and the Earl of Cumberland, George Clifford, who was assigned in the English region) appear to have been very active in this four-year period. Late in the first year, the committee took over control of the sensitive areas and assigned a “part” of the new armed guard to Dumfries. The assignment of the armed regiment marked the beginning of a substantial number of outlaw arrests and hangings. Among the most notable executions related to members of the Elliot, Armstrong, Johnstone and Baty families, with many others, almost three dozen in total, following them to the hangman’s noose. Other reiver cases had less severe outcomes: a number of them were exiled from the country and others were decreed to be “outlaws” and were pursued and imprisoned. This was only the beginning of an intense period of

⁷ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

persecution of the reiver families by the committee: in the first year alone, almost two hundred people were arrested and accordingly passed judgement upon.⁸

Outlaw families were numerous and well organised, so the arrest of the head of the family did not necessarily prevent any future criminal activity. Therefore, it was important that all potentially dangerous family members were brought to justice. Those who were proven reivers faced the death sentence and the committee also kept a close watch on many of their relatives. The removal of a great number of criminals that were active, to a greater or lesser degree, soon resulted (as apparent from the Privy Council entries) to a declining number of livestock and cattle thefts.

One of the reivers who played a significant role towards helping the sweeping activities of the committee was Walter Scott of Buccleuch, a well-known and feared high-ranked outlaw who switched sides. Scott negotiated with the authorities a deal for his previous partners in crime. He traded their participation in the two thousand-man strong mercenary army against Spain for their lives and freedom. It is reported that, when the representative of the Spanish king communicated the latter's concern about the presence of dangerous criminals in the British army on Spanish territory, King James expressed his satisfaction that the outlaws were out of his kingdom. He further added that if the Spanish king thought it was appropriate to demand some form of compensation, this should be extracted from their homelands in Scotland.⁹

Back in Britain, it was becoming apparent that there was much to be gained by the persecution of reivers, even by civilians. The local communities stood to benefit from going after raiders and from reporting suspicious movements or even individuals that were unusually idle or lacked profession, and soon, the authorities were officially assigning people for those purposes.¹⁰ According to the Privy Council's chronicles, extensive searches for reivers were organised and took place from the end of spring to the end of the year, in 1605.¹¹ Whoever managed to dismantle a reiver family would take over its whole estate, which in certain cases, such as that of the Graham family in Esk, was substantial. With the increasing safety of the ex-Border counties, the value of the acquired properties would quickly rise, as

⁸ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

order was gradually restored in the area and uncertainty was eliminated.¹² Moreover, the new legislation was more protective of the rights of the lawful owners of looted property who were willing to claim it back, even forcefully. It was made legal for them to use all means necessary in order to re-acquire it, as long as their regional committee-appointed authorities were aware of their intentions.¹³ As a result of such measures, the prospect of civilians taking the law into their own hands and then reaping the benefits became particularly attractive, and it is safe to assume that a large number of locals must have eagerly seized the opportunity to eliminate thieves and lawlessness.¹⁴

The hunt carried out by the official committee however seems to have been even more relentless than that of non-officials. The Border committee designated Carlisle as the base of its operations and by 1605 it consisted of ten people, five from the English districts and five from the Scottish areas. In order to exercise more immediate control in both countries, the committee delegated considerable authority to the heads of the regional horse regiments, Cranston, and Leigh, a contemporary war hero. Those two people were the captains of the corresponding local policing forces and, as such, aggressively continued to take control of the situation.

Apart from severely limiting the privileges previously enjoyed by local folk and imposing stricter rules of conduct, the committee and captains also unearthed past thievery complaints and made numerous arrests on those grounds. Depending on the severity of the offence, trials usually took place locally with the permission/licence of the Privy Council.¹⁵ Local authorities made sure that judgement was passed upon the accused very soon after their capture and, unless there was any doubt concerning the circumstances of the crime and the existence of extenuating factors, the execution followed immediately after a verdict of guilt.¹⁶ According to the law, whoever was found to have stolen livestock or goods from the other side of the old Borders, was automatically condemned to hanging, as long as the value of the plunder was above a certain estimated value (which was not high).¹⁷

¹² Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

¹³ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

¹⁴ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

¹⁵ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

¹⁶ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366; Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

¹⁷ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 364-378.

For thievery of goods of lesser values or whenever there was an indication that the blame or responsibility of the crime did not fall entirely upon the accused, a guilty verdict did not necessarily draw a death order and the case was referred to higher legal authorities. In practice, however, most criminals who had been arrested and found guilty were executed, as the higher courts, where the less straightforward guilty cases were reported, ordered their execution too.¹⁸

Harsher Policies and Punishment of Potential Thieves (1603-1610)

Great effort was also made to strip potential or actual law-breakers of the motive, means and opportunity to conduct any criminal acts. With this in mind, the law dictated that the inheritance of all real and mobile property would be subject to the approval of the designated officials. When known clan members died, only the oldest remaining family member was entitled to inherit the deceased's property. Any other, even destitute, children or close relatives were legally prevented from receiving any assistance from the remaining spouse of the executed criminal, if there was one, and were left at the mercy of the authorities.¹⁹ Besides limiting other family members' access to family property, hence the motivation to participate in illegal clan activities, those measures also had the effect of dispersing clan power, since the committee had the authority to (and frequently did) relocate the non-inheriting members of the family.²⁰ In the case of many criminals in a family however, even those who inherited the family property did not necessarily benefit from the new law as most, if not all, of the family property was seized or turned to rubble by official decree. This was the case with the Elliot family who, unlike most other outlaw families, suffered total devastation of its immovable property when their three dozen family towers were completely demolished under a State law that ordered the destruction of all known outlaw forts in the Middle Shires.²¹

The committee's efforts to make thieving unattractive to outlaws included limiting the amount of movable property any known member of an outlaw family

¹⁸ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

¹⁹ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

²⁰ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

²¹ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

could own. Cattle and horses in particular, were highly valued as loot, consequently restrictions on their ownership were severe. According to the information contained in Privy Council documents, the value of cattle known clan members were allowed to own was limited to no more than £30 Scots each (which essentially amounted to no more than a couple of cattle at best).²² Similarly, the value of horses owned by the residents of the most troublesome ex-border regions could not exceed the sum of 50 shillings Sterling or 30 Scottish pounds.²³ This measure was extended to the general Border population with the exception of nobles and other high-class people.

These rules were aggressively pursued: buildings were thoroughly searched and all unauthorised property, live or inanimate, that was found to be in violation of the law was confiscated.²⁴ Additionally, if, for some reason or another, men were found to own cattle or horses of higher value, they were not able to rid themselves of the excess livestock for profit, as it was made illegal for drovers to buy from such ill-reputable sources.²⁵ In fact, it was strictly ordered that all commercial transactions concerning livestock were to take place in officially sanctioned open markets. As far as meat products were concerned, these were not to be offered for sale unless they were attached or accompanied by the skin of the animal, the latter serving as an identification characteristic for tracing it back to its lawful owner.²⁶ By 1618, buyers involved in an obscure transaction in the old Border area and arrested in violation of those orders faced confiscation of the goods in their possession and an irreversible imprisonment sentence, unless the seller was brought forth to verify ownership and thus the legality of the transaction.²⁷

In addition, to weaken the outlaws' motives and in order to control the means by which reivers used to carry out their activities, the committee imposed stricter legislation concerning the carrying of arms. While raiding and plundering most certainly carried the death sentence, substantial, yet lesser, penalties were reserved for activities that were not previously thought legal or were considered minor offences. Known members of outlaw families, for example, were not allowed to

²² RPC, 1st series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

²³ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

²⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

²⁵ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

²⁶ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

²⁷ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, p. 289.

carry potentially lethal weapons and any offenders were to either pay a considerable fine (£100 Scots) or receive one-year imprisonment.²⁸ In particularly dangerous areas, the committee ordered that residents were to abandon their heavy offensive and defensive military equipment; even the iron gates were to be ripped from houses and towers, and re-moulded into agricultural tools.²⁹ Again, the nobility and other men of high stature were exempt from this rule.³⁰

Having implemented laws attempting to control the motivation and the means behind lawlessness, the committee also looked to restrict the opportunities when illegal activity could be encouraged. For this reason, as is shown in the Privy Council entries of the period, they relegated the operation of public houses strictly to individuals of clean record and reputedly good character. Moreover, knowing that reivers were roaming the grazing areas in search of livestock, the committee prevented people from being absent from their home for more than two days without the regional authorities' consent, otherwise they would face a £40 Scots fine or three months imprisonment.³¹

Such considerable changes had already apparent effects in the cattle (and other livestock) trade. There were fewer instances of cattle theft and this was reflected (as suggested by a few contemporary estimations) in the slowly increasing frequency and higher volume of trade. Overall, the new regime was perhaps too hard on the old Border communities.³² The new legislation seemed extremely cruel to their residents, who were used to the privileges and the slacker enforcement of the "Border Laws". The relentless pursuit of the committee did indeed bring results but it appears that it mainly relied on the strength, extent, and severity of persecution.³³ An indication of the committee's strong desire to restore order in the old Border regions was the extraordinary number of trials in Jedburgh under the supervision of Sir George Home, who had executed more than ten-dozen reivers by 1606.³⁴ As expected, such policies and changes did not happen without resistance from both the outlaw families (like the Armstrongs, Elliots, Johnstones, Kerrs, Irvines, Nixons and

²⁸ RPC, 1st, series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

²⁹ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

³⁰ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

³¹ RPC, 1st, series, vol.7, pp. 743-745.

³² Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 360-366.

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp.192-195.

the notorious Grahams), as well as the old-fashioned officials who objected to the new regime. Many of the former who were considered more likely to cause trouble were driven out of the country, some of them drafted in Ireland. Most resistance however, had crumbled by mid-1609, when reivers were executed in large groups in the presence of the Earl of Dunbar (who had restructured the Border committee in 1606), Sir William Cranston, the Scottish region commissioner, and Sir James Douglas, a man known for his trial-less executions.³⁵

Tidying Up the Borders, and Dying Flickers of Lawlessness before King's Visit (1611-1618)

In 1611, the committee announced that its goal of purging the old Border regions had been achieved, yet several more executions were to take place in the next few months. If hanging was not justified, the criminals were to be exiled in Ireland where they would become lawfully employed, or forced to join the army in Ireland or Bohemia. The secluded, thus secure, American colonies were also suggested as a place of exile, but this was deemed redundant.³⁶ According to the Council records, King James' suggestion for exile in the overseas colonies almost caused a rift between the king and his advisors and Border committee. Other than unnecessary and possibly impractical, the transportation of outlaws to the American continent would also have been controversial. The colonies were under English rule, the outlaw settlements would be exclusively under the supervision of English officials, an arrangement the authorities were not confident would guarantee fair treatment to Scottish convicts.³⁷ Besides being executed and exiled, large, previously powerful criminal families like the Grahams and the Armstrongs were also relentlessly driven away and scattered across the country. Entire communities were relocated, like those of Liddesdale and the Debatable lands, a move that aimed both at rooting out outlaws from their familiar territory as well as demonstrating the committee's ever-increasing control over the region.³⁸

³⁵ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 374-378.

³⁶ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

³⁷ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

³⁸ Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

In 1612, it was deemed safe enough for the authorities to impose new economic policies about the legitimate transportation of livestock between Scotland and England, such as new customs schemes. Order was slowly being restored in the old Border region, with reports of significant criminal activities appearing sparsely in Council reports in 1616, 1617, and 1618 (including a notable uprising by the Maxwell family).³⁹ The incidents in 1617 were more noteworthy, because they were followed with the visit of King James in the Scottish Middle Shires. The king was very displeased with the offences, as he wanted to associate the restoration of complete order in the Border region with his reign. Consequently, pressure was put on local landlords and their staff to keep an eye on reivers and go after them themselves. In return, the landlords would be able to join the commissioners at reiver trials, provided the king did not object. The involvement of local gentry opened up the way to more informally conducted and thus speedier trials, a practice that had started at the time of the extensive mass executions and was now becoming more prominent.⁴⁰

Normality and Peace with Rare Incidences of Thieving (After 1618)

Nevertheless, violence, though always present in these areas, continued to decline and, as a result, the horse regiment was dismantled in 1621.⁴¹ Usual criminal activity continued for the following century, but for the most part it was very limited and under the control of the authorities.⁴² As it appears from Privy Council records, the presence of the Border committee and its commissioners also started to decline in 1625. The role of the committee appears one of the last times in the Council records in 1626, during a meeting among the Border nobility and gentry.⁴³ It was James' successor to the throne, Charles, who reinstated a similar committee almost a decade later, when outlaws started to cause problems in the Middle Shires. The extent of criminal activity was small, however, especially when compared to thirty years before. By 1664, it had become clear that the new outlaws were in reality a small

³⁹ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 374-378; RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

⁴⁰ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 440-447.

⁴¹ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 374-378.

⁴² Watson, *The Border Reivers*, pp. 192-195.

⁴³ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp. 289, 314, 440-447.

number of “new generation” small-scale thieves or brigands whose activities were encouraged by the anarchy of the region due to the Civil War.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets*, pp. 374-378.

Scotland: Lawlessness, Banditry and the Cattle Trade in the Seventeenth Century

Chapter 2

General Social Background, Practices and Local Control

Whilst the pacification of the Borders during the years 1603-1618 brought a new security to the region and opportunities for trade, elsewhere in Scotland cattle theft remained an endemic feature of everyday life. Only slowly did central government authority displace local practice, bringing by the 1660s the same sense of law and order and opportunities for trade to these lands as had prevailed for about half a century in the Borders.

Clan Conflict and Lawlessness

Even the clan wars, so often mentioned until the seventeenth century, frequently revolved around cattle thieving (or vengeance for it) and an element of ritualistic behaviour existed within them. Although the Privy Council records many reports, complains, and lawsuits concerning cattle thefts, cruelty directed towards animals was the exception and usually was considered as vengeance towards their owners (such as the rare killing of cattle in resistance to the enclosures, for example). Historians have refrained from trying to disentangle the complicated web of cattle theft complaints, additional reports, counter-complaints, and serial lawsuits, which were recorded in the Privy Council. Haldane, after going through a couple of cases, expressed his sympathy towards the people who had to administer order, issue directives and to deal with those complaints. MacInnes in *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, summarises one or two straightforward cases to illustrate the nature of thieving. Yet, the vast majority of cases remains unexplored and this set of sources is separately analysed in the next chapters of this thesis in an effort to identify some general patterns of lawlessness, income/cattle redistribution and other economic factors which can be inferred from this seemingly vast database.

Generally, cattle theft could range from provocative war-like raids to small-

scale cattle lifting. An example of the former was a case in 1592, when Stuard of Ardvorlich and his confederates were accused of driving off 160 head of cattle with two bagpipes in daylight, or the battle of Glen Fruin between the MacGregors and the Colquhouns, provoked by the MacGregors' theft of 600 cattle.¹ Battles usually involved 100 men, rarely 300, and exceptionally the whole clan of 1,500 people. Human casualties were a serious risk in the process, and in the aforementioned battle at Glen Fruin for example, 80 men lost their life.² Although there were loyalties between clans, the target victim-clans frequently changed and along with them so did Highland politics. The MacGregors above (based in Loch Awe side) were not only in conflict with the Colquhouns but also competed with the Stewarts of Appin and with the Campbells of Glen Orchy, clans infamous for the cattle raids conducted by their subjects.³

Nevertheless, most raids were of much smaller proportions. The ritualistic "creach" (predatory raid), a custom surviving well until the seventeenth century, committed the sons of the "Fine" (the clan gentry), as well as other adolescents, to demonstrate their virility by lifting cattle. MacInnes dates the last "creach" around 1670, by the MacDonalds of Keppoch. Angus MacDonald of Achluachrach celebrated his impending marriage by raiding the estates of the Roses of Kilravock in Moray, with 12 associates.⁴

"Creach" was not considered as robbery among clans (particularly in the Lochaber area, which was the center of competing heritable jurisdictions, and lawlessness) and rustling for non-ritualistic purposes could be overlooked, if raiding took place on the lowland peripheries. Allan Cameron of Lochiel, for example, was accused of stealing livestock from one of the clan Grant gentry in the summer of 1645. He apologized by saying that he and his associates failed to realize that they were raiding the estate of clan Grant and not "just one Moray man".⁵

The more adult version of the "creach" was the "spreidh", in which ten men,

¹ Bingham, C., *Beyond the Highland Line : Highland History and Culture* (London: Constable, 1991), pp.147-9.

² Millett, S. M., *Git along ye bonnie dogies! : the Scottish cattle droves and the western cattle drives*. (Columbus Ohio., Scottish Lore Press, 1988), pp.10-12.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Macinnes, A. I., *Clanship, commerce, and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*. (East Linton Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 1996), pp.32-4.

⁵ Ibidem.

usually sponsored by lesser members of the clan, went off to steal cattle mainly for economic reasons and profit. This more often than not involved “caterans”, which were unruly men with no clan affiliation. Where clansmen were involved in “freelance spreidh” the clan paid back the “tascal”, or bounty money, usually a sum equivalent to at least half of the value of the stolen goods, to compensate the victims of the theft. In return, immunity from criminal prosecutions was sought for the bandits. Bounty money was also paid for aiding to the recovery of lifted cattle, and it constituted payments that regularly afforded supplementary income for lesser clan gentry with specialized knowledge of the Lochaber and adjacent districts.⁶

Disorder, Attitudes and Practices

The prevalence of such activities should not be underestimated; cattle theft was a major concern among farmers. In one of the few travelling accounts of the late seventeenth century, Kirke was surprised to see cattle watched day and night to make sure no bandits would steal them.⁷ Burt in his letters at mid-eighteenth century shed some light on theft cases and the circumstances under which they occurred. Burt was surprised with the frequency of cattle thefts as well as how people took the law into their own hands and showed utter disrespect for the authorities. People whose cattle had been lost or stolen, pursued the tracks to recover them. If in their pursuit they were “[hounded] as they say it, into the bounds of any other chief whose followers were not concerned in robbery and the track is there lost, he is obliged by law to trace them out of the territory or make them good to the owner”. But if the pursuers actually overtook the robbers and happened to be more in number, they seized any remaining livestock or stolen goods but they did not prosecute the thieves. If they had done so, they would probably be liable to have their houses burnt and their cattle hocked. They and their family would be in severe physical danger from other members of the clan or “cateran” bands to which the bandits belonged. In the cases where it was proven that cattle had been stolen by bands residing on a clan chief's land, the chief would pay the victims, but naturally demand reparation from the

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Kirke, T., *A modern account of Scotland being an exact description of the country, and a true character of the people and their manners*. (London, 1679), p.9.

bandits as well. This created a cycle in which the bandits shifted the location of their operations to another place. Alternatively of course, they could adopt legal methods to repay the amount, and pay out of the produce when the cattle were sold to the market. Yet, most chiefs did not impose extra punishments to deter the bandits from stealing. And all this occurred in an environment where no one would be willing to help the innocent farmers to find their cattle. As Burt put it, in this part of the country the blame was upon the one who disclosed the information.⁸

It is clear that public attitudes, especially in the Highlands, towards the thieves were not in accordance with any centralized rules, Privy Council decisions or parliamentary rulings. Burt narrates the story of a Highland woman who was begging for goods or money to a Lowland lady. The lady asked the beggar about her life and her marital status. The Highlander replied that she had had three husbands, her first two were honest men although they "died for the law" (that is hanged for theft), while the last one "was a fulthy peast, he dy'd at hame lik an auld dug on a puckle o' strae". Also, Burt writes of another event that illustrates the same attitudes. A Highland man who was accused of stealing was tried in Lowlands. As the trial progressed he lost his patience in court and exclaimed "common tief ! common tief ! steal ane cow, two cow, dat be common tief ! Lift hundred cow, dat be shentilman's trovers" and he continued.. "ah, hone ! dat such fine shentilmans should sit dere wid der fine cowns on to make a parshel o' lees on a peur honesht mon !". When he was pronounced the sentence he said "ah, for a proadsword an a tirk, to rid de hoose o' tose foul peastes".

Contrary to what Englishmen and Lowlanders may have believed however, Burt continues, the case of "personal robberies" was rare. Of course the definition of what constitutes a personal robbery has to be stretched to extremes to follow this statement. There were many cases of personal robbery or revenge, like, for example, the case where a band killed the cattle of an umpire in a litigated affair because he had not decided in favor of their clan chief.⁹ From all this, it is no major surprise to find that most Lowlanders detested Highlanders whom they considered to be brutish ignorant savages. Highland drovers who tried to develop a reputation of honesty and

⁸ Burt, E. and A. Simmons, *Burt's letters from the north of Scotland*. (Edinburgh & Chester Springs Pa: Birlinn, U.S. distributor Dufour Editions, 1998), p.254.

⁹ Burt and Simmons *Burt's letters*, p.264.

reliability surely must have had a rough time.

Local Watches, Blackmail and Protectionist Rackets

During lifting seasons, between the early summer migration to the shielings and late autumn gathering of the harvest, additional employment opportunities were opened up in the Lowland peripheries as landlords hired the professional expertise of clan watches to protect themselves against cattle thieving. The watches usually consisted of 12 men who had a lot to gain and a lot to be responsible for. William Farquharson of Inverey was paid £5,000 Scots in equal monthly installments by the landed classes of Angus to protect their estates from the 1st of June to the 23rd of November of 1653.¹⁰ This was on the condition that he refunded all un-recovered livestock, whose theft had been reported, within 24 hours. The above figure is probably rather atypical of the period. Usually there would be a small collection of individual farmers who would pay a premium between £4 and £100 Scots to protect their livestock, according to an estimate in 1670.¹¹

Carrying such liabilities, the watches sometimes degenerated into strict protection rackets, being only partially checked by single season contracts. Where members of the Clan Gregor offered their services, their watches notoriously led to the levying of blackmail on landlords and tenants of the Lowland peripheries, ostensibly to prevent any cattle from being lifted by freelance reivers and “cateran” bands. Both tascal and blackmail developed into unbridled extortion mechanisms. The bounty was raised before a full restoration of goods was expected, or the protection rates were renegotiated when any attempt was made to dispense with livestock insurance. The government wanted to impose the capital punishment for reivers but watches preferred to catch bandits red handed and obtain a self-denying ordinance forswearing further banditry activities.¹² It was to the watches’ interests that lawlessness and cattle thieving continued, so they would retain their profitable jobs. And it is not surprise that the word blackmail (where “mail” means “rent”) first originated in this environment; according to the Oxford English Dictionary the term

¹⁰ MacInnes, *Clanship, commerce, and the House of Stuart*, pp.32-34.

¹¹ Murray, W. H., *Rob Roy MacGregor : his life and times* (Glasgow: R. Drew Pub., 1982), p.70.

¹² MacInnes, *Clanship, commerce, and the House of Stuart*, pp.32-234.

comes from the Scottish Highlands but also from the cattle thefts at the borders of England.¹³

Cattle thieving and protection rackets continued their activities until the early eighteenth century when English efforts to establish order in the Highlands came to fruition. Rob Roy MacGregor and his nephew MacGregor of Glengyle levied quarterly payments from Lennox landowners. MacDonald of Barrisdale received income from Ross-shire, Strathglass, and Aird. Other independent companies supposedly suppressed cattle theft but rumor had it that captains employed half of the men to raid cattle and the other half to return them. When lawful trade expanded, cattle were uplifted from their breeding grounds in the Lowlands (by groups of 10 to 30 men who might come from as far as the islands) and sold at the markets instead, as reported to General Wade in 1724.¹⁴

Other, un-organised groups of “caterans”, also extorted money from the Lowlands for cattle protection. Periodically, bands were becoming more numerous as a result of the social dislocation in the aftermath of the 1640s civil wars, the famines of 1690, or the ethnic cleansing after the 1745 rebellion. These protection rackets could be the means through which landless men gained subsistence. Sometimes they were led by renegade clan gentry, denied an inheritance due to primogeniture, like James Grant of Tulloch in 1630, and usually consisted of 40 to 60 members. Frequently, their activities remained unchecked as they enjoyed the patronage of leading landed families of the Lowland peripheries, their main theatre of operations.¹⁵

It is difficult to provide accurate estimations but according to MacInnes, there were reputedly 105 landlords in 1587 on the Lowland peripheries afflicted with banditry, and probably their fears were not unjustified.¹⁶ In 1747, it was estimated that £37,000 Sterling was the amount of the direct and indirect losses behind cattle thieving.¹⁷ Clan chiefs were much concerned to dissociate their clans from the

¹³ Murray, *Rob Roy MacGregor*, p.70.

¹⁴ Bingham, *Beyond the Highland Line*, pp.147-149; Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.24-26.

¹⁵ MacInnes, *Clanship, commerce, and the House of Stuart*, pp.32-34.

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp.212-214.

¹⁷ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.45-47; Burt, E., R. Jamieson, et al. (1822). *Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London; : containing the description of a capital town in that northern country, with an account of some uncommon customs of the inhabitants; :*

protection rackets of the “cateran” bands and dissuade their clansmen from freelance reiving. Official laws and regulations, such as holding the Fine responsible for everyone living on its estates for more than twelve hours, encouraged some clan gentry to try and suppress cattle thieving.¹⁸ Yet, both clan chiefs and Lowland landlords faced many problems. The former could not adequately control what was happening in their vast territories (especially in cases when “cateran” bands moved back and forth between different estates), and the latter were not satisfied with the delays in identifying thieves, the problems in gaining compensation, and the excesses of the protection rackets.

Official Watches of the Early Eighteenth Century

Law could not reach the Highland districts where most illegal activities were taking place. Yet, contemporary accounts emphasizing such problems must be discounted slightly, due to many instances of propaganda maintained from the English about banditry infesting Jacobite clans.¹⁹ The Crown and Privy Council however, did pronounce sentences and verdicts but it was left to clansmen to administer the punishments and maintain order. The Privy Council was also trying to enforce older laws, such as that buyers of cattle must have land in their possession or that carcasses had to be brought with their skin attached to the market (to identify the branding).²⁰ Certificates of respectability had to be issued for drovers from 1671 to 1674 as well, and these listed the drovers’ full names and company. The government desperately tried to curb thefts and to enforce peace. It is no surprise that it even officially endorsed blackmail. In 1658, the Privy Council authorized the MacGregors of Glengyle to protect the cattle of the inhabitants of Lennox and to appoint a “commander of a watch with power of fire and sword”.²¹ However, over the next 100

likewise an account of the Highlands, with the customs and manners of the Highlanders. : To which is added, a letter relating to the military ways among the mountains, begun in the year 1726. ; In two volumes. (London, Printed for Ogle Duncan and Co. ... Oliver and Boyd Edinburgh; M. Ogle Glasgow; and M. Keene Dublin, 1822), II, p.359 (An Inquiry into the Causes of Rebellions, 1747, Appendix in Burt).

¹⁸ MacInnes, *Clanship, commerce, and the House of Stuart.*, pp.212-214.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland.*, pp.9-11, 18-20; RPC, 3rd series, vol. III, p.312; RPC, 3rd series, vol. 4, p.280-281.

²¹ Murray, *Rob Roy MacGregor*, p.70.

years, such practices would be conducted under a more systematic and official mantle. In 1724, the “Black Watch”, which consisted of native soldiers from loyal clans, was formed by the government to prevent cattle lifting.²² From 1747 to 1750, perhaps in the dying years of illegal activities and Highland autonomy, 30 to 40 military patrol huts were created throughout Scotland. Each consisted of about a dozen officers and the latter were usually Highland men whose duty was to travel about 12 to 20 miles a day and guard against any illegal activity taking place. In total, 200 to 300 men were employed, divided into sections of 36 men and patrols of four to six men. Interestingly, although the officers were Highlanders, locals were not particularly friendly; they did not trust the officers and were unwilling to cooperate towards the arrest of thieves. Nevertheless, this and other measures did indeed have an effect on the country, and gradually the Highlands became a peaceful region. One can observe in Map 2.1 (taken from Inglis, p.221) the stretches of lands that the patrols covered, from Mallaig to Braemar, and from Inverness to Loch Lomond.²³

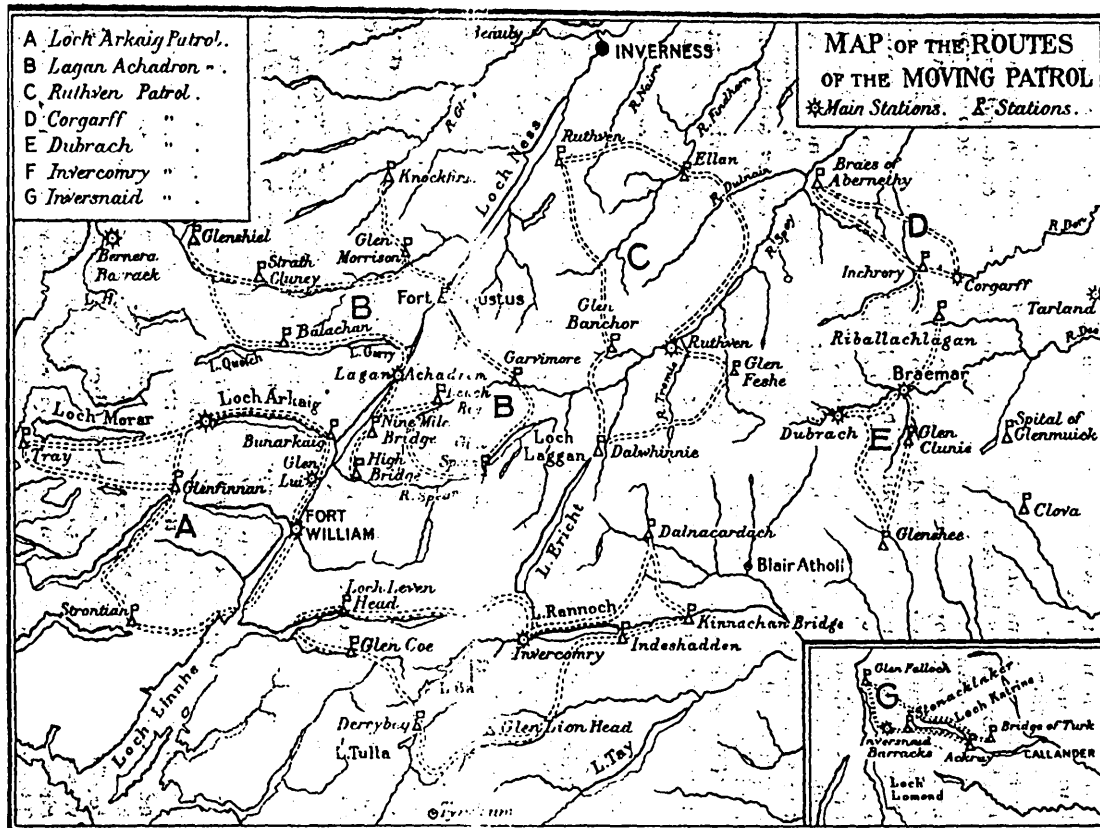
The moving patrol as it was called, and other official troops, which attempted to curb banditry, also faced many difficulties. As mentioned above, few natives wanted to cooperate with them and further on, not all of the officers were totally familiar with the area or places they guarded (compared to the experienced thieves). And as a contemporary suggested, the trousers and outfit of the patrol officers was very forbidding, in both speed and agility, in contrast to the kilt. It was very inconvenient to wear anything else and at the same time being able to match bandits on the run, the writer suggested, and the fact that he (Duncan Forbes) was an outspoken anti-Jacobite adds perhaps some strength to the statement.²⁴

²² Symon, J. A., *Scottish farming, past and present*. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), p.132.

²³ Inglis, H. R. G., “The Moving Patrol: A Forgotten Post Culloden Episode 1747-50,” *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, L (1934), pp.219-223.

²⁴ MacAonghuis, I., G. Wilson, et al., *Bho dhroghadh Gaidhealach gu fasaichean Astrailia = From Highland drove to the Australian outback*. (Sutherland, No. 19: Dornoch Studio, 1998), pp.14-19.

Map 2.1
The Moving Patrol
 (from English, p. 221)



Places, Centres of Lawlessness

Suppressing cattle thieving was not easy. The clan gentry faced additional difficulties when they acted to prevent it, and sometimes they purposely allowed unruly men or clansmen to remain in their estates, or used them to extend their territories and for other private reasons.²⁵ Yet, clan members or rich Lowland houses did not only share the burden. The average farmer fearing the reiving of his cows frequently paid watches. A record in 1690 writes that the inhabitants of Glen Isla all contributed money to pay for watchmen who guarded the passes at the head of the glen.²⁶ It is not clear whether these watches consisted of small local assemblies (hence losing some of their extortionist character) but it is reasonable to assume that “cateran” bands and protection rackets would attempt to blackmail a number of smaller peasants and farmers too.

Lochaber, as mentioned above, was the epicenter of such illegal activities. Clan McFarlane was based in the region although many competitors vied for the loot as well. Donald Ban (fair haired Donald, a MacMillan, of Loch Akraig, in Lochaber), was such an example. However, he met his death at a cattle raid in Skye, at 1746, a fate, which as discussed above, was probably fairly typical of the period.²⁷ Thieves were by that time a vestige of a former period, and most of them were destined to face a violent and untimely death if they did not abide by the law.

The general area of Atholl had been another one of the problem spots and the Privy Council had attempted to extend its influence there from very early on. A 1607 entry about the order of the county mentions how the quiet and peaceful area had become infested with broken men and how the inhabitants were also starting to indulge in violence and theft. Atholl was one of the few places where an official watch was appointed, with captains ordered to command it, and inhabitants ordered to assist it.²⁸

²⁵ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.9-11.

²⁶ Whyte, I., *Agriculture and society in seventeenth-century Scotland*. (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1979), p.16.

²⁷ MacAonghuis et al., *Bho dhroghadh Gaidhealach*, pp.14-19.

²⁸ RPC, 1st Series, vol.7, p.400.

Cattle theft was not only confined to the Highlands but it was there that it reached its full extent. Haldane mentions the efforts of landowners all throughout Scotland to check traffic in stolen beasts, by controlling numerous ferries and rivers including the cross at Aberfeldy, Fonab, and the ferry boat of Pitnacree.²⁹ In the next two chapters, the cases of the Privy Council have been collected to allow for a more detailed analysis of lawlessness for the period between 1603 and 1691.

²⁹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland.*, pp.6-8.

Chapter 3

Cattle Thefts Recorded with the Privy Council

The Privy Council as a Historical Source; Prevalence of Thefts

The records of the Privy Council reveal a wealth of information on cattle thefts. Although the latter are not frequently related to the cattle trade, they are indirectly very useful towards the understanding of many relevant economic and social issues. First, the aforementioned discussion on lawlessness and the problems that farmers, drovers and dealers had to face is developed with more concrete evidence about the places that such illegal activity was taking place. Further, the names of the complainers and aggressors provide a meaningful picture of the origins of “cateran” bands or clansmen who invaded the foreign estates. The nature as well as the prevalence of thefts is also further discussed and useful conclusions about the cattle trade can be drawn.

The number of cases in the Privy Council regarding cattle are not many, considering the extent of the cattle trade and the importance of livestock in the Scottish economy. Before 1625, there are only an average of three to five cases of “spulyie” (despoiling or plunder) relating to cattle, in each of the 14 Privy Council volumes (all cover a period of almost 80 years, starting from 1545). Surprisingly, the cases in a period of less than 20 years (from 1625 to 1643), as covered by the second series of the Privy Council registers, number about 70, a figure which should not be taken as concrete evidence of a sudden surge of lawlessness. They probably reflect a crucial period in the history of Scotland when people started considering the option of appealing to the authorities in cases of dishonesty. The cases in the Privy Council are perhaps indicative of public sentiment and confidence to central law rather than anything else. Particularly in the second decade of the aforementioned period, from 1633 to 1643, there are more than 55 cases (and as many as 34 from 1633 to 1635) which show that the reported thefts had quintupled compared to the period covered by the first series of the volumes. However, the third series of the Privy Council

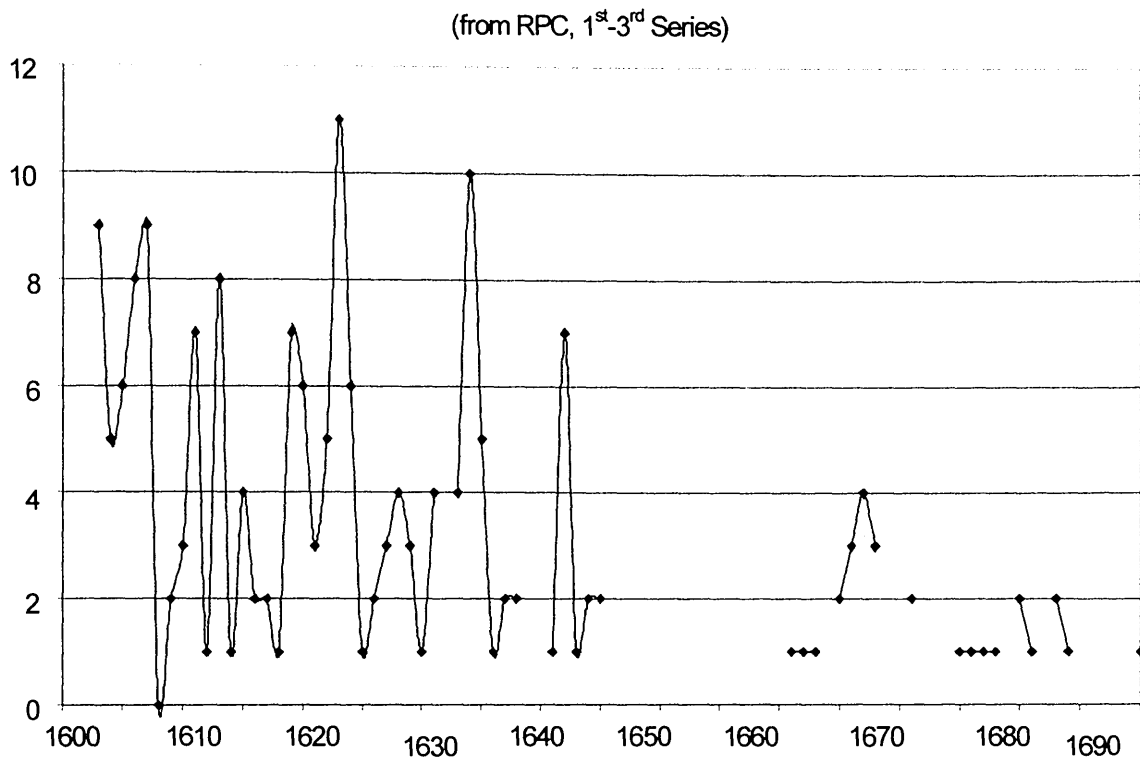
registers only shows 31 cases of cattle theft during a span of 29 years, thus returning to the pre 1625 averages. The overall trend of lawlessness during the seventeenth century can be also observed in Figure 3.1 and Table 19, derived from the number of cases in the Privy Council documents. A steadily decreasing instance of thieving can be observed in Figure 3.1, but with many fluctuations. A disproportionate number of thefts are reported in the mid 1620s, mid 1630s and early 1640s, but apart from a few isolated years, the downward trend is obvious. And after peace was established in the aftermath of the political turmoil of mid-seventeenth century, the instances reported to the Privy Council show a considerable decline, amounting to only one or two events during each of the next 30 years.

It is difficult to interpret the above general trend. It would be expected that as people trusted the authorities more, more thefts would be reported to the Privy Council with time. Yet, this does not seem to occur. It is reasonable to assume also that cattle thefts did indeed decrease significantly in the beginning of the second part of the seventeenth century, which coincided with the increase of livestock exports to England and the fast development of the cattle industry. It seems likely that the Privy Council's settling of the cattle thefts in the busy period from 1635-1645 might have set an example for potential thieves, who would now think twice before thieving. Robbing, from that period and until the next century, appears to have been the main occupation of "cateran" bands (whose members were difficult to identify or follow) or officers of watches (whose members frequently belonged to the first category too). Stealing certainly continued to plague the Scottish countryside for one century more, but it seems that it had decreased enough as to allow trade to develop. It is interesting to note that in the late part of the century, few contemporary reports or Privy Council committees regard the issue as extremely important and relevant to trade or the welfare of farmers.

There are obviously no Privy Council records after the Union and the records for the period from 1691 to 1707 are not complete. Hence, a comparison with later developments can not be done. It should also be noted that the derived numbers are overstatements of the actual cases, as some of the latter had to be discussed twice in the Privy Council, which considered newly sent supplications and evidence. Also, as seen from many cases, there was sometimes considerable delay before illegal activity

was reported or examined in the Privy Council records, especially in the early part of the seventeenth century, when a proportion of thefts written in the records reflects events occurring a couple of years earlier.

**Figure 3.1. Prevalence of Lawlessness and Cattle Thieving
Number of Cases**



Cattle Thefts and the Diverse Range of Cases

The importance of cattle in relation to other goods can be clearly seen from many cases registered in the Privy Council. As an outcome of such raids, the latter valued the price of stolen cattle, while other goods were valued much lower or frequently omitted from the valuation. When for example Hugh Rose of Kilravock and John Rose (his brother) complained against Hector McLauchlan and another 16 people for raiding the lands in Flemington, the pursuers mentioned how the thieves

killed livestock, robbed many tenants and committed serious damages. Yet, the 10 cattle that were killed were valued at 400 merks Scots and all the other goods another 400 merks Scots.¹ In other cases (examples of which will be mentioned below) the ratio is even more disproportionate, with a heavy bias on the cattle losses. So, the Privy Council records do not only help towards the understanding of cattle thieving but also relative prices, and the value of livestock and other goods.

There is a wide range of cases in the Privy Council. The very first incidences in the first years of the third series registers, from 1661, are quite typical of most cases over the span of the previous or next 30 years. William Gordon of Craig, Hew Gordon and John Gordon (his sons) were accused of invading the lands and house of Hugh Gordon in Barvennan along with 18 accomplices armed with swords, staves and forks. After invading the house and beating the complainer's wife, they went to the byre and cut the straps of eight hides of cattle in order to provoke the petitioners to come and recover them; after seeing no response they retained the goods.² Usually however, live cattle were the objects of thefts, even if they were only a part of the loot, such as in the case of Alexander McDonald of Inverlair who complained against Alexander McDonald of Keppoch and others for invading his lands, injuring his goods etc. The aggressors were about 20 men and along with their accomplices and servants (in all numbering around 60). They invaded the lands fully armed, pulled down several houses, burned the timber of them, took plenishing and other goods from the houses and drove away nolt, sheep, horse etc.³

By looking at the circumstances under which the thefts occurred, one can see that the primary motivation was not always the same. Bandits from Lochaber (a location which was one of the centers of illegal activity) for example, were usually out for the profit and did not bear any personal grudges or follow clan politics. A typical example of Lochaber thieves plundering foreign lands, would be the following: Alexander McNab and others complained against Neil McConnochie and others, in "Killiened", for violently carrying off cattle, horses and mares. 13 people with many more vagabonds had come armed by night and seized 12 cattle, 16 horses

¹ RPC, 3rd series, vol. 1, pp.54-55.

² RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, pp.20-22.

³ RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, pp.150-151.

and mares and took them away to Lochaber where they subsequently sold them.⁴ In the same year, a supplication by William Earl of Menteith asked for a warrant to pursue certain men of Lochaber who had plundered his tenants. The thieves had come to Monteith and took away from one of the petitioners' tenants, Miles Graham, 18 horses and mares, and 70 to 80 cows. The Lords of the Council granted a warrant to the Earl, his tenants and servants, to go and recover the goods, apprehend the robbers and put them to justice.⁵

It seems that the level of audacity differed across many "cateran" bands. John Neilson in "Bretheren" and his accomplices were charged with lifting cattle and horses in 1667. With more than 90 men, they stole away 50 cattle and 30 horses on October 1665 from the lands of Spital (Spittal?). 10 horses and 50 sheep were taken in March 1666, 180 cattle, 60 horses and 130 sheep in August of the same year, and in the next month, 20 cattle and 1,000 sheep from the lands of Corse and "Cathary".⁶ It appears that some small-scale thieves might have been unlucky enough to be reported to the Privy Council, but the ones who repeatedly provoked farmers and communities had more chance of being persecuted. And although the Privy Council did not seem particularly interested in the small cases (which presumably were many more in number in a given year than the ones actually reported), the punishment of the large-scale bandits seemed to be a top priority. In the above case, a committee involving the Earl of Caithness, the Earl of Seaforth and two others was formed with the directions to search, seek, take, apprehend, imprison or pursue the rebels to death.⁷

In the other cases, which involved only an isolated incidence occurring in a non-violent way, among "cateran" bands or other bandits, affairs were settled much more amicably. In a 1671 dispute between James Menzie of Shian and John Campbell younger of Glen Orchy, the disagreement was merely on the price of the livestock to be restituted. The offender had peacefully agreed to compensate the victim for the crimes from clan members or "cateran" bands residing under his jurisdiction, and half of 250 cattle were to be recovered. However, as many of the

⁴ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.137.

⁵ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, p.197.

⁶ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.256-258.

⁷ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.256-258.

cattle were not found, John Campbell opted to pay compensation instead and the only complications were about the price of the remaining cattle which was not initially decided upon (until the intervention of the Privy Council).⁸

Rebellions, Personal and Political Attacks

A typical example of another category of raids, which seriously disrupted peace and trade, was the case of William Sinclair of Dunbeath. He, along with his accomplices, was accused of manslaughter, robbery and destruction of property. His aims were not primarily financial. He and a large number of the inhabitants of Caithness (about 1,200 people in total) arranged to invade the Sheriffdoms of Sutherland and Strathnaver. They came armed to the above lands, which belonged to Hugh Munro of Eriboll and robbed, plundered, and killed. They burned several houses and yards, killed three men, and seized and imprisoned the Munro family. However, after that, they did drive away with 300 cows.⁹ This and similar cases show a very clear pattern: that in most of the personal conflicts, raids, plundering, clan wars, political expeditions or acts of revenge, the act that accompanied the aforementioned aims was to take any cattle belonging to the victim. This indicates how cattle were probably the most important and valuable asset of the household, as well as how vulnerable the cattle trade was in such circumstances (especially in an earlier period when such raids were the norm rather than the exception).

Personal grudges, Highland politics or other reasons guided another type of aggression. Alexander Robertson's (of Struan) petition against Ewan Cameron of Lochiel and others probably belongs to this category. 35 men accompanied with many other accomplices and servants, about 80 armed persons in total, came in military manner to the lands of Kinloch. They quartered for free for a night, threatened and beat tenants, opened doors and searched for the complainer and after they could not find him, they drove away 26 cattle. The Privy Council ordered the Camerons to be imprisoned or pay a fine of 1,000 merks Scots as well as the restitution of the cattle with a compensation value of £10 Scots per head.¹⁰ The

⁸ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, pp.315-317.

⁹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.566-567.

¹⁰ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.219-220.

subsequent outcome of such cases was varied. In this case, the Camerons notified the Council that they would pay their escheats but some landowners or clan chiefs were not that cooperative. When John Keltie and John Patoun in Tullibole complained against a Campbell of Glen Orchy, the latter refused to make restitution for robberies committed by his tenants. The theft had involved 16 oxen, 13 cows and 6 nolt, which were carried back to the lands of Glenlochar near Corricharmick, the homelands of the Campbells.¹¹ But almost always such personal attacks involved taking the cattle of the victim no matter the other deprecations. Lachlan McLean of Lochbuie for example complained against his son Hector McLean who dispossessed him of his castle and illegally imprisoned him after the former put him in possession of most of his lands in order to help him repay his debts. As expected, more than 500 cattle, 80 horses and 1,200 sheep were also seized and stolen away.¹²

Bandits and the Chiefs' and Landowners' Responsibilities

Often the complaints were against the landowners or clan chiefs rather than the actual thief. According to a Parliamentary Act, the former were responsible for restitution to the victims when the thieves were proven to reside in their lands. Stirling of Keir for example, complained against Sir Lachlan McLean of Duart for failing to restore 22 head of cattle, horses, and mares, stolen by Duncan McHenrich and others. The incidence happened in the parish of Callendar, in the Sherifffdom of Perth; the bandits escaped with the stolen livestock and headed to the far Highlands and Isles where it was impossible to track them down. The petitioners asked for 2,000 merks Scots for the livestock as well as 500 merks Scots to meet the expenses of the complainers and witnesses in the prosecution.¹³

At such set cases, one can clearly observe the Privy Council's determination, but also limited capacity, in trying to enforce the practice of clan chiefs "entering" their men. The term is used loosely in the Privy Council records but generally means declaring them as members of the clan. So, in the instance of Thomas Roy and John MacGillichallum against the Lairds of Glen Orchy, the accusation is about failure to

¹¹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, p.357.

¹² RPC, 3rd series, vol.6, p.519.

¹³ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.118-119.

enter and consequently punish certain Highlanders who had committed repeated thefts and were also acknowledged members of the clan. However, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glen Orchy successfully defended himself against the entering of some of the men ordered to declare, by claiming that they had been apprehended by Clan Gregour and kept prisoners by them.¹⁴ It seems therefore that a physical presence on the chief's lands had to be established first, and "entering" was not contingent on common knowledge that certain people belonged to a specific clan. Allegations such as the one against the Earl of Argyll in 1607, which provoked subsequent complains from him, claiming that the thief was not his man, were not uncommon.¹⁵ Clan chiefs who did not appear before the Council to enter men against whom a complaint had been made, were usually denounced as rebels, as was the fate of common criminals. Entries like the one by Sinclair of Dunbeath against the Earl of Caithness in 1611 or by Harrie Stewart in Strathdee against the Lairds of Glengarry and Harris one year earlier can be consulted for reference.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the Privy Council's wish behind "entering" men was to indirectly transfer some form of authority from the chiefs to the central administration, and not necessarily to make sure certain criminals would be punished. In the case of Robert Torrie against Rose of Kilravock in 1605, the Privy Council vehemently insisted that the landlord enter the names of victims in order for the latter to get, not provide, compensation.¹⁷

The Privy Council was aware of the complicated practicalities and the occasional unjust treatment to landowners or chieftains who could not control their large estates, or check all incomers to their lands. Customarily, in such cases, an action of relief was reserved for landowners that could prove that the persons committing the robberies did not belong to them. The Earl of Argyll for example, although being extremely co-operative, reported in a supplication, the limitations of the system and the injustice to him and similar people. He said that most of the 80-100 people who partook in the crimes and robberies, were McDonalds, outlaws and declared fugitives, who had no relation to him. The group was a typical example of "cateran" people who did not have any clan affiliation but were driven to theft by

¹⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.9, pp.174-175.

¹⁵ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, p. 373.

¹⁶ RPC, 1st series, vol.9, pp.142-144;RPC, 1st series, vol.8, p.442.

¹⁷ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, p.79.

being landless, expelled from their previous estates, or from greed. The reason behind persecuting the McDonalds in this particular case involved a conviction for murder a couple of years earlier. The center of their operations was in Glencoe, a wild and rocky country, which, according to the Earl, was impossible to control.¹⁸

Many of the landowners and clan chiefs genuinely tried to discourage the people residing in their estates to commit crimes. A few such written promises have been recorded in the Privy Council, like the one by Hugh Frazer of Kilnokie and Alexander Frazer of Kinnaries. They both signed a bond obliging themselves and their heirs that no person of their name would commit any crimes mentioned in the acts of Parliament concerning the peace of the Highlands, with the penalty of 2,000 merks Scots and the restoration of the goods. Yet, people from their lands did steal 25 cows some years later in 1681.¹⁹ Because of those circumstances, the Privy Council seemed sometimes reluctant to force certain Earls to pay up huge amounts of money for acts they could not be held responsible. On the other hand, it is no surprise to find that many victims of thefts complained about uncooperative landlords who had failed to apprehend certain of their tenants found guilty of various thefts. When Thomas McKenzie of Pluscarden and others complained against tenants under the Laird of Kingairloch for robbing them from the lands of Westertoune in Pluscarden, the guilty men, it was maintained, had been employed to keep a pretender watch. This enabled them to more conveniently steal and rob honest men of their cattle.²⁰

It is reasonable to conclude that sometimes the landowners could not afford the restitutions without becoming bankrupt. When the Earl of Caithness complained against the Earl of Sutherland and others for refusing to make restitutions, the thefts under consideration involved more than 1,000 cattle and 100 horses taken on several occasions, over the period from 1653 to 1666.²¹ A part of the plundering and laying to waste of the lands, as well as the considerably reduced income of the victims, had not been restituted for more than 10 years. Considering that in 1668 the process was already half way and there was a probability that it would never be settled, one can imagine how devastating cases like these were on the local agriculture, cattle trade

¹⁸ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.329-333.

¹⁹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.7, pp.173-174.

²⁰ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.320-321.

²¹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, pp.404-406.

and standard of living.

The Declining Cases of Large Scale Disorder in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century

All of the above cases are not to imply that there were no larger scale operations. The Privy Council records reveal that a wide range of people, from small “cateran” bands to clan chiefs conducted illegal activities. In 1667, for example, there was a complaint by Dame Magdalen on the part of her tenants against the Earl of Argyll for robberies and thefts committed on her lands by people for whom the Earl was directly responsible. 45 men signed the complaint against six men who came to the lands of Ruthven, Wester Coull and Tarland accompanied with 800-1,000 men, fully armed. The latter took 139 oxen worth £20 Scots the head, 109 cows priced at £18 Scots the head, 39 horse and mares valued at £30 Scots the head and 301 sheep worth £3 Scots the head. They also took all Scots money they could find as well as plenishings, beds, bed clothes, apparel, pots and pans etc. All the loss was valued to £7,750 Scots.²² The offenders had lain to waste the lands, additional damages costing £3,429 Scots. The lords ordained the Earl of Argyll to make payment to the sum of 20 merks Scots for each cow of the 109, and 24 merks Scots for each of the 139 oxen, 36 merks Scots for each of 39 horses and mares, and 3 merks Scots for each of the 301 sheep. 800 merks Scots was considered to constitute the value of the stolen plenishings and 2,000 merks Scots the damage from the loss of the previous' years rent.²³ The total amount to be restituted was £7,082 Scots, an amount, which was by no means trivial.

One of the last large-scale operations that can be found among the Privy Council's entries, similar in scope to the above example or the 1603 Macgregors' raid of Lennox, (which had involved the theft of 600 oxen and 800 sheep, and the slaughter of four men) is found in 1619. About 600 men recruited from Clan Ian (coming from Argyllshire and the Western Isles) entered Lowland areas, raided Glasgow merchants, plundered ships etc. Some years later, a commission of fire and

²² RPC, 1st series, vol.6, p. 534; RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.20-24.

²³ RPC, 1st series, vol.6, p. 534; RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.20-24.

sword with full powers of justiciary was formed to take action against the clan.²⁴

Nevertheless, it seems that such organized large-scale robberies were a remnant of another era. From the second part of the seventeenth century, the Scottish people had started reporting such thefts, and it is unlikely that huge-scale raids like the above would remain unrecorded in the Privy Council. It is perhaps indicative to note that there are only two cases in the following 25 years, which involved activities of such proportions, in 1677 and in 1678. In the first case, John Campbell of Airds complained against the McAllans and others, of the name of Cameron, for invading his lands. The invaders came armed with pistols, swords and guns and robbed the houses of the tenants, broke the doors, stabbed one of the tenants, took 40 cows and six horses, and stole plenishings, money etc. This, they followed with subsequent attacks, and the total depredations were estimated by the complainer to be about 9,000 merks Scots including, the value of goods, livestock and the cost of despoiling the lands. However, this seems a very exaggerated amount for 40 cattle, 6 horses and household belongings and perhaps the incidence can not be compared to cases a few decades before. Although the raids in theory amounted to losses of 9,000 merks, only 1,400 merks Scots were rewarded by the lords of the Privy Council who had been many times lowering the complainers' demands, but rarely to such a degree.²⁵ It was sometimes the case, that victims tried to make large profits from the situation and naturally many of their claims were taken from the Privy Council (as well as in this report) with caution.

The only other case of a large-scale theft in the second part of the seventeenth century however seems more genuine: John Moir McEwin and others were accused by Alexander Campbell of Loch Nell for robbing his lands of cattle, sheep, horses, and goats to the value of £34,291 Scots. 100 person armed with guns and swords invaded the pursuers' lands at "Migliarie" and by force seized and took away 650 cows, 650 sheep, 61 horses, 500 goats as well as 37 bolls of corn and some other goods. With a second attack in the same year, the offenders took 20 cows, 12 horses and other goods.²⁶ Although most of landowners in other incidences had begun to cooperate with the Privy Council by either delivering the ordered restitutions, or at

²⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.6, p. 534; RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.20-24.

²⁵ RPC, 3rd series, vol.5, pp.87-88.

²⁶ RPC, 3rd Series, vol.5, pp.361-364.

least trying to prove that they were innocent of the blame, the landlord in this case did not follow this line. He even sent a menacing letter bragging of the theft and threatening to punish the complainers. It was exactly this sort of case that the Privy Council had made a priority to eradicate, the kind of mass-scale raid which totally disrupted trade, security and income in a region. The larger the operation, the stricter the Privy Council was. In this case, it awarded the full amount of the value of stolen livestock (despite the slightly overpriced demands of the complainers), as well as 21,000 merks Scots for the devastation of the lands and 2,000 merks Scots extra to cover for the legal expenses of the petitioners.²⁷

²⁷ RPC, 3rd Series, vol.5, pp.361-364.

Chapter 4

Bandits, Cattle Thieves, and Justice

Administration, Policies and Justice Changes Accounting for Peak of Arrests (1624-1627)

There are a significant number of arrest warrants and trial orders around the first quarter of the seventeenth century that demonstrate without doubt that the Council's intentions to bring about order were serious. As an inspection of its index shows, in addition to such orders, there was an abundance of other legal documents and special orders aiming to control the more socially unstable regions of the Highlands. Moreover, the Council supported King James' resolution to eliminate as many as possible potential sources of conflict by imposing strict penalties in the case of disputes among the nobility in an effort to discourage any resulting violent outbreaks. (An example of such a dispute was the one between the Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Moray).¹ Indeed such measures seem to have worked, as reports of violence related to hostility among nobles declined during that period.

One further and very important policy taken against violence in the Scottish region during the period consisted of the laws that prohibited firearms in 1626. The prohibition was applicable to all civilians throughout the country. Even though King James suggested it much earlier, it was only after several unsuccessful attempts that it was finally forcefully imposed through the Act of Council in 1626, following a fatal incident between members of the Gordon family in Aberdeenshire.² The anti-firearm laws that were passed before the Acts set the legal framework for the Lord Advocate, as government prosecutor, to interfere in all legal cases brought to local councils where firearms had been employed during the crime, regardless of its nature. As a result, those offenders who were found guilty of the crime were also to be found guilty of violation of the anti-firearm law and to receive greater

¹ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 414-418, lxxxiv-lxxxix.

² RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, p. 881.

punishment. However, while the legal framework existed, it had little preventive effect, as Privy Council records show through a wide variety of entries.

Following the Gordon incident, the king issued an order to the local Justices of Peace, practically throughout the land, to prepare a list of all offenders as well as witnesses of the respective crimes. In order to avoid retaliation and coercion, the order was given under the assurance that the identity of the person composing the list will remain secret. Very importantly, the king made it absolutely clear that a significant amount of legal blame for the violation of the anti-firearm acts was shifted onto local councils.³ There are several recorded instances of written replies to the king's invitation, from places such as Nithsdale, Annan, Selkirkshire and Kirkcudbrightshire. The replies demonstrate varying degrees of cooperation and tolerance to firearms violations, as well as a clear indication that, unlike higher-ranking administrators, local officials did not consider the carrying of firearms an offence serious enough to draw severe penalties.⁴

The legislation that, among other things, had allowed King James to set up the Commission of the Middle Shires to supervise over the Border regions, also provided that most administrative powers were to remain at the hands of local council officials. As established by the Band and Statutes of Icolmkill (Iona) in 1610, on the other hand, the administration of the Highland and Scottish islands regions was the responsibility of the corresponding chiefs. One of their formal duties was an annual appearance in front of high-ranking administrative officials in Edinburgh, where each chief was required to confirm his loyalty to the Statutes and his intentions to maintain peace in his area, as well as guarantee the law-abiding behavior of the people he represented. As time passed, this requirement was observed loosely and in 1625, only the chiefs of Clanranald, Strathordail (Strathordill ?) , Coll and Lochbuie were called to present themselves in Edinburgh, but nevertheless failed to do so.⁵ A year later, eight chiefs were called in Edinburgh from Sleat, Duart, Harris, Strathordail, Coll, Lochbuie and Morvern. The Scottish chiefs – or, in certain cases, their representatives - and Sir John Campbell, who had been called especially for the occasion, presented themselves to the Council in

³ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, 675-679.

⁴ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, 675-679.

⁵ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 75, lxxxiv-lxxxix.

Edinburgh.⁶ There, they confirmed their intentions to uphold peace among their people and, unlike previous years, were given additional directions regarding their duties.

Another important development in the administrative affairs of the Highlands was the Commission of Justiciary given to the Earl of Seaforth and his assistants, high-ranking members of the Mackenzie family, in early autumn of 1626.⁷ The Commission of Justiciary was, effectively, a permission for its receivers to use all means necessary to suppress any violent occurrences initiated by the scattered MacLeod family of Lewis. The MacLeods had been persecuted and taken to justice almost as soon as the border-cleansing operation had started, and most high-ranking members in the family had received their punishment and were not posing an immediate threat to the general peace. Malcolm MacLeod however who had been chief of Lewis and had escaped arrest by leaving the country, judging that persecution of his family had diminished, returned and gathered the remaining members of the MacLeod family and was planning a rebellion against the ruling family in Lewis. In order to deal with the new MacLeod threat, the Mackenzies were issued with a further Commission of Justiciary in the late autumn of 1626.⁸ Following the Commission and the new persecution of the MacLeods, an uprising by the latter family ceased to be a significant threat for general peace. This fact was greatly appreciated by the governing authorities who had dealt with the considerably more threatening rebellion of Ian clan and the Isles Rebellion that was led by Sir James MacDonald, eleven years earlier.

Exiles; Repeated Offenders

It was not uncommon for cattle thieves to be sent into exile; the practice of cleaning up the country, which had begun with the pacification of the Borders and the enforced exile of lawless characters, continued throughout the seventeenth century. Andrew and Henry Allardyce, prisoners in the Edinburgh tolbooth (prison)

⁶ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 376-377, lxxxiv-lxxxix.

⁷ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, 403-405.

⁸ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 450, lxxxiv-lxxxix .

in 1621 for the “capital offence of maiming cattle,” were transported to Flanders to serve in the Scottish levies for the continental war. Their offence was punishable by death in general, and the prisoners were grateful for the order. They agreed never to return to Scotland unless they had a license from his majesty and, with “pain of death”, they would find sufficient caution to keep the peace, in the event of their return.⁹ This was not an isolated incidence; Alaster McHutcheon in 1638 who was found guilty of stealing a wether, a ewe and a cow was banished from the kingdom, again, never to return without his majesty’s permission upon pain of death. He was to find “caution” leaving within a month and during this time to behave peaceably under the penalty of 500 merks Scots.¹⁰

Even stealing from un-favoured people could result in the exile of the aggressor, as can be shown in the case of Robert Turner in “Blackholme” who stole six cattle from the Earl of Montrose; the latter had taken up arms against the kingdom, and his property and person had been excommunicated. Robert Turner maintained that as a consequence of this, the Earl’s goods were for the public to seize, so he stole the cattle, drove them to Glasgow and sold them for 103 merks Scots to Hamilton fleshers. The cattle were eventually challenged by James Stirling to belong to him but despite the thief making amends for the money profited, the sentence was no less severe: he was never to return to Scotland under pain of death.¹¹

It is interesting to note that a large percentage of thefts occurred by repeated offenders. It seems that many complainers did not report any loss due to theft unless the thieves made a habit out of stealing from a particular area. In 1605 for example, Mr. James Dunbar of Tarbet complained against Dallas of Cantray for “spuilie”, fire raising and slaughters. The defender with his men had come numerous times to the lands of “Meikle Pennyk” and had been stealing hides and livestock in this and surrounding areas regularly for more than five years (with the company of many “broken” men).¹²

Nevertheless, it is not usual to find such entries from the mid-seventeenth century, as gradually lawlessness, especially in the form of clan members or broken

⁹ RPC, 1st series, vol.12, p.431.

¹⁰ RPC, 2nd series, vol.7, p.16.

¹¹ RPC, 2nd series, vol.8, p.130-33.

¹² RPC, 1st series, vol.7, p. 77.

men committing large-scale operations, was steadily declining. From the second quarter of the seventeenth century, it is common for thieves to confess small-scale thefts of one or two cattle from other landowners such as in the case of John Roy McLaren and Donald McCaress who took less than 10 oxen from more than five owners.¹³ In similar small-scale cases it seems only incidental that the thieves were able to steal one or two cattle, they had just seized an opportunity when it arose. Nevertheless, the punishment was again, no less severe, as in the case of Andrew Scott who was held at the tolbooth of Linlithgow for stealing a few oxen and also confessing that he slew another, for which act he had left the country.¹⁴

A Theft of an Englishman's Cattle

One of the most interesting (and also confusing) cases of the Privy Council is about the theft of 17 cattle from Griffin Wmkells in England. A series of entries, which narrate the story behind the thefts, reveals an intricate network of sales and purchases, and also shows the Privy Council's unusual approach when trying to administer justice.

The thieves had brought the cattle to Falkland where they sold a small quantity of the total 17 to a number of buyers. Most of the latter sold the cattle to other parties as well and in some cases the transfer of cattle changed an additional three to four hands. The Privy Council clearly wrote that if the charges were proven true, the stolen cattle would be returned to their owner (presumably to the cost of the buyer) or alternatively a restitution of £6 Sterling for each ox would apply.¹⁵ However, defenders, complainers and Privy Council were unclear about who would bear the costs. The last buyers consented to an order which demanded that they return the cattle, yet they had paid a full price for them. They also suggested however that if their oxen died during the dependence of the trial, they would be free of the delivery as well as of the restitutions. Incidentally, and perhaps to no surprise, one of the stolen oxen was reported as having died. It is clear that it was unfair for initial buyers to be free of responsibility and the burden to fall to the last owner only. At

¹³ RPC, 1st series, vol.13, 273.

¹⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.13, pp.370-371.

¹⁵ RPC, 2nd series, vol.5, pp.302, 376,377,375,365,301,294,261,257,256.

subsequent entries however, as restitutions were becoming difficult to obtain, the drover who bought the cattle from the alleged thief as well as subsequent buyers were charged as well, and William Armstrong who perhaps sold them first, was warded in the tolbooth of Edinburgh charged with selling theft cattle. But subsequently, the latter charge was also disputed as the series of successive sales had created a non-sensical situation for which the Privy Council was unable to order any meaningful policies.¹⁶

Admittedly, this case was by no means typical or representative of the other entries of the Privy Council, and perhaps the fact that the victim was an Englishman may have played its part in increasing the involvement of the Privy Council. In the same, more or less, period, John Porteous was charged with carrying a habitual trade for six years during which time he was stealing from Lothian areas and coming back to Fife to sell the livestock. Yet, there were no central orders to inquire for the recent thefts and investigate much further; the matter was simply stated with the ending remark that the thief had probably left the country.¹⁷

Oaths and the Limited Capacity of the Privy Council

One factor, which compromises the discussion on lawlessness, is the process of administering justice. If one goes through the list of cattle thieving entries an interesting pattern can be deduced: when the pursuers of a claim appeared before the Council and the defenders did not, defenders were in an overwhelming majority of cases denounced as rebels and ordered to be arrested. When pursuers did not appear and defenders did, the reasonable verdict was decreed, of dropping/suspending the charge and perhaps ordering that the pursuer compensates the defenders for travelling and other expenses. But when both parties appeared, (or in cases when it was not necessary for pursuers to attend the proceedings), it seems to have been entirely to the defender to determine the outcome of the case. If the latter confessed, he was naturally found guilty and pronounced his sentence; if he swore that he did not commit the crime, the charges were dropped. In this study it was not possible to find a case in which the defender swore that he was innocent but evidence showed

¹⁶ RPC, 2nd series, vol.5, pp.302, 376,377,375,365,301,294,261,257,256.

otherwise, and therefore he was found to be guilty. Obviously, it makes sense to assume that if the aggressor had been facing dozens of witnesses who swore that he plundered their lands, he would confess. Yet, one can find many cases where the defender swore he was innocent in the presence of many witnesses who swore otherwise and still managed to get away free. So, justice, it seems, was heavily biased against complainers. Moving towards the end of the seventeenth century however, one can see that the Privy Council was less inclined to rely on oaths.¹⁸

Typical examples of such a situation can be seen in 1635, when James Hepburn of Bearford was accused of violence and he denied the charge, or in 1628, at the case of William Johnston, who was charged of inflicting injury to John Maxwell's cattle. It is interesting to note that in the case of Janet and William Campbell against William Campbell of Dalquharran in 1623, the case was closed with all the defenders denounced as rebels with the exception of one, who was acquitted because of an illness, confirmed by a certificate from the minister of Kirkmichael.¹⁹

In some cases where both parties appeared before the council, no decision was made, as in the case of John Graham against four-score men who hounded, gore and drove away 54 cattle, and five-score more, at another instance. The Council found the matter "debatable" and no further order was decreed. A similar result can be read in the case of Turnbull of Minto against Ker of Ferniehirst in 1605 when 60 armed men came to the lands of Barnhill and Hallrule and took away 20 oxen, 18 horses and other goods. "The issue was remitted to the lords of the council and session".²⁰ Even in cases where more blatant attacks were claimed to have taken place, such as that of Mark Davidson against the inhabitants of the burgh of Selkirk in 1607, the defenders were again acquitted. Even though all sorts of livestock were allegedly violently driven away, and houses were demolished, the aggressors denied the charge and they did get away free.²¹

¹⁷ RPC, 1st series, vol.13, p.569.

¹⁸ Incidentally Watson in her study of Scotland's exports at the same period also discovered that a similar approach was used in order to administer justice in cases of smuggling and illegal imports/exports.

¹⁹ RPC, 2nd series, vol.6, p.109;RPC, 2nd series, vol.2, 428;RPC, 1st series, vol.13, p.147.

²⁰ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, p 44;RPC,1st series, vol.9, p.23.

²¹ RPC, 1st, vol.7, p.407.

Although the above cases distort the conclusions about the prevalence of thefts, and show the biases of the primary sources, they indirectly reveal a lot about the economy, infrastructure and society of Scotland. It appears that the Privy Council was eager to be considered as the absolute administrative authority, even if that meant sacrificing the actual process of administering justice. It is obvious from this and many other sections of this study (i.e. pertaining to illegal exports, the preservation of the Lent season etc) that the Privy Council did not have the capacity, connections and authority to order and police the kingdom. A significant percentage of crimes were settled among the parties concerned and illegal activity was not reported to the authorities (especially in the Highland regions). The Privy Council, despite its long history by that time, was still trying to establish itself. Many entries reveal how the local authorities and the Council were in conflict. Such was the case in 1622 when John McInwrie and John McEasser complained against the baillies of Atholl for refusing them justice against cattle thieves. The baillies after making daily excuses had allegedly freed the thieves, and they were denounced as rebels for not appearing to answer the charge.²²

Further, as a result of the Privy Council's preoccupation to establish itself, excuses based on the concept of taking the law into one's hands are rarely found after the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The Privy council's orders show a severe disapproval of unauthorized punishment of thieves or criminals, as in the 1606 case of Earl of Home against Master and Maxwell, where the defender proved that previous thefts had taken place and he only wished to get even.²³

Privy Council Evidence: Discussion and Limitations

For the purpose of this study, the aforementioned examples, illustrating the different levels of audacity, scale and type of attacks have been comprehensively collected along with the many more entries concerning lawlessness and cattle thieving. The vast majority of the incidences come from the Privy Council records and they are summarized in Table 18 in the Appendix. Historians frequently referred

²² RPC, 1st, vol.12, pp.669-670.

²³ RPC, 1st series, vol. 7, p.273.

to this set of sources but have in general been hesitant to attempt a similar analysis (the sort of study Haldane, as mentioned before, had suggested for future historians to consider). The instances of cattle reiving and lawlessness were varied, however, and a quantitative analysis is inherent with methodological pitfalls. Despite this short-coming, it was deemed important to assess the scale and impact of such thefts as well as to describe a part of society which has been extensively mentioned in the secondary literature but not completely explored. The focus naturally in this and previous chapters was on the relationship of lawlessness to cattle thefts and thus, only thefts which included any amount of cattle were indexed in the table. However, the insights from Table 18 can be extended towards a more general analysis of lawlessness, thefts and the Highlands, as it is rare to find cattle not being the prime or most valuable component of the prize of thieves.

For reference, it should be noted that the table lists the date of the entry, the date of the event in parenthesis (when available), the names and place-names of the defenders and complainers, as well as the amount of cattle stolen and the occasional valuations. Incidences of lawlessness have been categorized according to the nature of the attack, and it has to be admitted that this can be a rather arbitrary and subjective categorization sometimes. The categories are “raid,” “cattle raid”, “livestock raid”, “personal/land”, and “rebellion”. The main factor, which determines the category, is the motivation of the thieves. In “cattle raids” the object was to trespass on a landowner’s land (usually during the night) and quietly drive away as many cattle as possible without being identified as the thief. “Livestock raid” includes the cases where many other animals were taken away and “raid” is a more up-front version of the former categories in which the aggressors did not fear to break into houses, steal plenishings, corn, meal etc. The “Personal/Land” category stands for personal or land disputes; in such cases, the aggressors performed essentially a raid but they also made sure to let the victim know who they were by breaking into his house, threatening or injuring him. Rebellions are rarer in comparison to the other types of attacks and usually refer to large-scale operations (usually with political motives), such as the violence perpetrated by more than 1,200 men of Caithness who wished to annul Sutherland and Strathnaver.

It is not surprising to find that there are only a few rebellions over the span of almost a century examined here. A substantial third of all the cases reported in the Privy Council records involved the stealing of cattle only, with no evidence for further personal or other motives. In another third of the cases (personal/land), there appears to be a background history between the aggressor and victim, and although cattle and livestock were usually stolen, the thieves also threatened the complainer or destroyed his (or his tenants') lands. The remaining cases are equally divided between livestock raids, general raids, and cases for which no detailed evidence allows for their categorization.

It might seem to the reader rather confusing to make such distinctions but in reality, most incidences had a clear motive and appeared to naturally belong to one type of aggression. At the same time, some cases do present some sort of a dilemma and they have been cautiously indexed. What is also not straightforward, is to actually determine what was stolen. Cattle as discussed above, was an elusive term, and in the Privy Council's records the term is sometimes used for general livestock. In 1613, for example, the Privy Council's headline of the entry mentions the apprehension of John and Donald Calder for fire raising and mutilation of cattle; but in the following entry, the accusation is over the mutilation and slaying of three mares and a horse.²⁴

A significant part of the information provided in the table has to be taken with some caution. First, one can not exclude the possibility of double entries. It is not rare to find cases in which 30-50 men accuse 200 others for violence and theft. The Privy Council is usually consistent in using the same names and description to summarize or headline a case but some times it was not entirely clear whether an entry was an update or a charge pertaining to a previous case. Moreover, in such cases, only the first one (or a couple) of names were written here and consequently only a couple of place-names were included. This makes the table a more meaningful and readable list but naturally it leaves it incomplete. Most importantly, the uncertainty about the places where some attacks took place is increased, as they are not cross-referenced with the complete list. As discussed by most economic and social historians working at this or earlier periods, the problem of identification of

²⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.10, p.132.

names or places is not an easy one to overcome. Apart from the fact that many place-names do not exist anymore, spelling inconsistencies among the writers of official documents also make the task more difficult.

Lawlessness in the Early Eighteenth Century

Unfortunately, there are few Scottish sources, which would allow a continuation of the discussion on lawlessness beyond the end of the seventeenth century, when the Privy Council records cease. Perhaps further research on the British sources of the post-Union period can provide more evidence on the local economic disruption by such social and political forces. However it seems clear that there is a steady decline in illegal activities and banditry, and as mentioned before, the “official” pacification of the Highlands in 1745 was an end product of a process begun much earlier. Yet, some family document collections reveal the concern and discussions on lawlessness, which continued in the first half of the eighteenth century. The stealing of cattle was still prevalent in the general area around Keppoch according to Alexander McDonnell in 1737. The formation of a guard was recommended to stop bandits from depredations.²⁵ A few years later, General John Campbell discussed the subject of cattle thieving on the borders of Argyllshire, mentioning how lack of funds did not allow for an adequate security force.²⁶ Naturally, the political upheavals of the mid-eighteenth century did have a local effect, and in the same period, documents mention large number of cattle being taken by the Hanoverian army.²⁷ However, few documents in the extensive collection of the National Archives of Scotland talk of banditry and lawlessness taking place in such a large scale as before. Occasional attacks and arrests naturally did continue and the discussion of sending thieves abroad did not cease. A letter sent from Donald Cameron of Lochiel to Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch in 1732 suggests that shipping the latter off to Holland or to Tobacco Plantations was the preferred

²⁵ NRA, 61, Box 9, Bundle 10.

²⁶ GD, 14/96.

²⁷ GD, 248/68/6.

solution.²⁸ But such incidences appear to have been less frequent than before and exile was beginning to be mainly a result of economic processes. Evictions from cattle farms were substantial before the coming of sheep and cases like the Macleod Chief in Skye, in 1739, who connived with tacksmen and a Macdonald chief to kidnap and smuggle more than a hundred people to America, is not unique.²⁹

In summary, the pacification of the Borders during the years 1603-1618 had brought a new security to the region and opportunities for trade. In the Highlands however, and in other places in Scotland, cattle theft still remained an endemic feature of everyday life. It was over the course of the following decades, during the 1620s, 1630s and early 1640s that the central government was able to impose its authority and displace local practices. By the 1660s, a degree of law and order as well as opportunities for trade had been established in these lands and a new commercial infrastructure had started developing. Under those circumstances, the cattle trade could grow as well.

²⁸ NRA, 0771, Bundle No.812.

²⁹ Flinn, M. W., *Scottish population history from the 17th century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p.31.

**Scotland: Building the Commercial Infra-
structure in the Seventeenth and Early
Eighteenth Centuries**

Chapter 5.

Evidence on Trysts and Local Markets, by Region

The Trysts

This chapter attempts to collect evidence concerning sales of cattle internally, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as newly created trysts (fairs) and local markets opened the way for an expansion of the cattle trades. Yet, a list of the fairs where drovers bought the cattle would be probably of limited value. In 1727, an entry lists 500 local markets all over Scotland (see Map 5.1), but additional data concerning the extent of sales and economic activity is absent.¹ It is clear however, that the main purpose of these smaller fairs was to sell cattle to drovers who subsequently sold them for profit in the main lowland trysts of Crieff and Falkirk, or in England. Sales there were of large-scale proportions. But it must be said that cattle were sometimes sold at large local markets such as Inverness. Unfortunately very few documents referring to the extent of the cattle trade in these trysts have been found among primary sources.

The Earl of Perth, who in 1672 had created the Crieff tryst was officially responsible to organise the fair and he was entitled to market dues amounting to 2d Scots per beast.² He let the right of collecting them to a tenant who gave him £600 Scots yearly.³ In the first part of the eighteenth century, Crieff was the main tryst of the Lowlands. The name “Crieff”, “according to the curator of the Highland tryst

¹ Haldane, A. R. B. *The drove roads of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.140-143; Smith, James. “The Exact Dealer’s Companion, 1727.”

² Millett, S. M. (1988). *Git along ye bonnie dogies! : the Scottish cattle droves and the western cattle drives*. (Columbus Ohio: Scottish Lore Press, 1988), pp.10-12.

³ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.136-37; Great Britain, S. John, D. J. Withrington, et al. *The Statistical account of Scotland 1791-1799*. (Wakefield: EP Publishing), Crieff, vol. IX, p.596.

museum Dr. Micheil MacDonald, comes from “the special tree”, the hanging tree, used to punish cattle rustlers”.⁴ John Macky reports the sale of 30,000 cattle in 1723⁵ and the same number is given in 1730.⁶ Trade in Crieff was conducted mainly through bills. An entry in the minute books of the Royal Bank of Scotland in 1730 shows that tellers were that year sent from Edinburgh with £3,000 Sterling in notes to put into circulation in return for cash.⁷ Even the disruption of 1745 did not seem to significantly interrupt trade in Crieff. Although an English garrison in 1745 talked of thefts of cattle going to Crieff, a cattle dealer in Dumfriesshire complaining about a rival, casually mentioned how the latter sold beasts of considerable value there.⁸ But peace, as well as the rising cattle prices, meant increased English involvement in the trade and Falkirk was far more convenient than Crieff geographically. Although Crieff was not officially closed, trade was transferred to Falkirk after the mid eighteenth century.

Falkirk was popular in a period after the one considered here. The Falkirk tryst was held twice a year but after the decline of Crieff it was held in August, September and October; the October fair was the biggest as farmers had fattened their cattle as much as possible and wanted to dispose them before the next winter. Falkirk had been a regular tryst before the eighteenth century, but it was in the second half of the eighteenth century when trade there reached significant heights. In the early eighteenth century, over 20,000 cattle from the Highlands were sold at Crieff and Falkirk.⁹

⁴ Millett, *Git along ye bonnie dogies!* pp.10-12.

⁵ Brander, M., *The making of the Highlands* (London: Book Club Associates, 1980), pp.14-17 Macky, J., *A journey through Scotland : in familiar letters from a gentleman here, to his friend abroad; being the third volume which compleats Great Britain.* (London: Printed for J. Pemberton and J. Hooke, 1723), p.190.

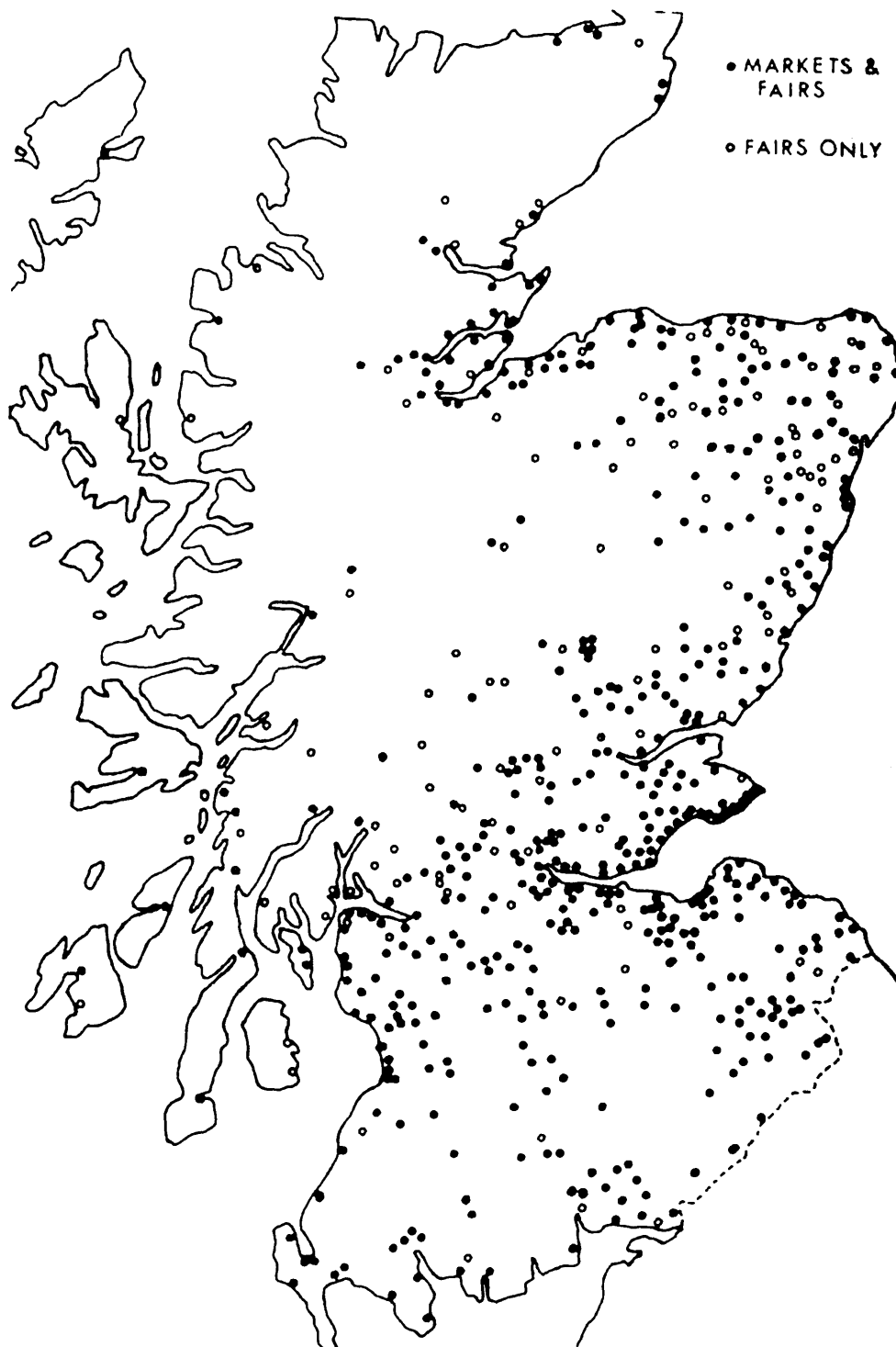
⁶ Dickinson, W. C. and G. S. Pryde, *A new history of Scotland.* London: Nelson, 1962), pp.67-69

⁷ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland.*, pp.136-137; Munro, N., *The history of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 1727-1927* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1928), p.105.

⁸ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland.*, pp.136-137; New Spalding Club, *Historical Papers (1699-1750)* II, pp.524, 540, 582.

⁹ Thompson, F., *Crofting years* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 1997), pp.79-84.

Map 5.1
Markets Authorised by 1707 (from Haldane)



The above discussion of activity at Crieff and Falkirk, however, is not to suggest that cattle sales in other local fairs and trysts were insignificant. Although the circumstances there are not as well documented as the cattle business in Crieff and Falkirk, some sources reveal the extent of such fairs. One can see from Map 5.1, that in 1707, there are a couple of hundred fairs and markets authorised throughout Scotland. Only the Highlands seem to have an extremely lower concentration of fairs but of course in the early eighteenth century, the process of incorporating the Highlands into “one country” (culturally and economically) was not completed. It is most likely that there were many customary selling and buying places, which were unreported and lacked official permission.

The Southwest

For the south of Scotland there is scant evidence, even though it seems that these districts were responsible for a significant proportion of the cattle trade with England. In general, however, in the south of Scotland, cattle were not that important, as sheep and arable land of quality ensured a substantial rural income. But an important exception was the Southwest, which had a long history of trade in cattle and other livestock. In the twelfth century, the fine for breaking the king's peace was 12-score bulls, (which suggests a large cattle population) and in 1527 Hector Boece (and Bishop Leslie one century later) talked of the numerous scores of cattle in the district.¹⁰ There is scattered evidence for a trade with England from Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Dumfriesshire, two or three centuries before the Act of Union.

Gretna was in 1612 the custom duty office for exports to England, and in 1626, commissioners in Nithsdale and Annandale were appointed to prevent the illegal exports of cattle.¹¹ In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon in Wigtownshire enclosed land for grazing purposes. He formed

¹⁰ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.161-162; Brown, P. H, *Scotland before 1700 from contemporary documents*. (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1893), pp.70,117.

¹¹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.161-162; RPC, 1st series, vol. IX, pp.267,394,633-634; RPC, 2nd series, vol. I, p.138.

a cattle park of two and a half miles long and one and a half miles broad, holding 1,000 beasts, some bred at Baldoon and some collected from neighbouring countries.¹² He sent 18 to 20 score of cattle to England each year. In 1683 some were seized and slaughtered in the belief that they had been Irish, a justified concern considering he had been fined for importing Irish cattle for sale to England (rather than breeding purposes) a couple of years earlier.¹³

In the mid-eighteenth century Pococke in his tour of Wigtown and Polton at Galloway was impressed with the sheer number of cattle which grazed there. They were sold, he writes, at a fair near Norwich (St. Faiths perhaps) and they were fattened for six months in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Ultimately, most of the cattle of the Southwest were destined for London consumption.¹⁴

The importation of Irish cattle by landowners in Galloway must have been very unpopular among farmers and lesser landowners with small farms, as their livestock could not compete with the larger and fatter Irish beasts. There is a number of documents in 1724 discussing the activities of Levellers in Galloway who protested against the concentration of wealth to a few landowners who imported Irish beasts and enclosed their parks for mass-scale fattening and sale.¹⁵ But the protests seem to have been the culmination of a long period of large-scale farming already prevalent from the mid-seventeenth century.

Galloway cattle were in the mid-eighteenth century around 40 to 50 stone live-weight. One-year old beasts were sold at £2 10s 0d Sterling, two-year old animals fetched £5 10s 0d, and three-year olds £7. Four-year olds were sold around £8 8s. 0d.¹⁶ Usually cattle were sold when they were four years old (as in other areas of Scotland) but their large size in the Southwest allowed sometimes for an earlier sale.

Skye and Hebrides

¹² Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.161-162; RPC, 3rd series, III, pp.105-106, 129.

¹³ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.161-162; RPC, 3rd series, III, pp.105-106, 129.

¹⁴ Pococke, R. and D. W. Kemp, *Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760* (Edinburgh: Printed at the University press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1887), p.86.

¹⁵ GD, 18/5246.

¹⁶ Corrie, J. M., *The "droving days" in the south-western district of Scotland* (Dumfries: J. Maxwell. 1915), p.23.

A lot of sources refer to cattle from Skye and the western Isles. These remote islands were not much affected by political turmoil, and the proximity of the sea helped against frost and snow. Small glens running from the sea also provided earlier and better grass. In the Hebrides, upland grazing areas were available and as the Atlantic wind was devastating for crops, large areas were used as pasture lands. Rents were paid in cattle and by 1502 the district of Trotternish in Skye exported marts, as well as surplus beasts, sold off in the autumn at the Lowlands, according to the Exchequer rolls.¹⁷ A complaint of Alexander Bane of Tulloch in 1594 referred to the theft by the Laird of Raasay of 2,400 cattle.¹⁸

By the end of the seventeenth century, there existed regular trade with the Lowlands and the Highlands, according to Thomas Morer, and Bishop Forbes.¹⁹ There is a record in 1728, moreover, indicating that the Royal Bank of Scotland cashed a note of an old bank for a drover on his way to Skye to buy cattle, and by mid-eighteenth century, English cattle dealers from Yorkshire visited Skye for the same purpose.²⁰

Even in the very small islands, like St Kilda it seems that the few meters of grazing land had to be used. According to Martin Martin in the late seventeenth century, about a hundred cows grazed there, taking advantage of the small pasturelands.²¹

Martin Martin at the end of the seventeenth century also wrote of how a substantial trade in salted beef was taking place from the Hebrides. At the island of Lingley, near the northern side of Boreray, cows were released to the fields in the springtime. The cattle lived upon "seaware" in the winter, due to the absence of any other source of nutrition. In the spring they were fattened and as late as December, after they had eaten as much as they possibly could, they were slaughtered. Their beef was described as sweet and tender. The natives salted the beef in cows' hides which kept it close from air and preserved it as well as barrels; it even tasted better

¹⁷ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.68-70; RPC, 1st series, vol. V, p.204.

¹⁸ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.68-70; RPC, 1st series, vol. V, p.204.

¹⁹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.68-70; Brown, P. H., *Early travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1891), p.268.

²⁰ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.68-70; Munro, N., *The history of the Royal Bank of Scotland*, pp.58-89.

²¹ Martin, M., D. J. Macleod, et al., *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1994), p.415.

preserved that way, natives claimed. Subsequently, beef was transported to Glasgow, and it was in such a good condition that from there it was frequently further transported to the Indies.²² Yet Pococke, in mid-eighteenth century, still saw farmers in the Isle of Lewis pay their rent with cows, sheep, butter, and cheese despite the extent of the cattle industry.²³

However, the economy of the Hebridean islands was rather underdeveloped in comparison to other parts of Scotland. Despite the cattle and beef trade, the whole economy and agriculture seemed to the eyes of the richer travellers, obsessively centred on not wasting any resource, and this was done with sometimes very mixed results or peculiar methods. When a calf was slain for example, it was customary to cover another calf with its skin so the calf would suck the cow whose calf was slain, as otherwise, the cow would give no milk. And if the cow discovered the swindle and grew enraged, the last remedy was to pacify her with the use of the sweetest of voices while approaching or milking her. Further, when any man was troubled with his neighbours' cows breaking into his enclosures and destroying his fields, he gathered the cattle at the utmost boundary of his land and drew a quantity of blood from each cow on the ground to make sure they would not invade his field. The cattle were left upon that spot from whence they went away without returning again to trouble him during the season.²⁴ Nevertheless sometimes casualties were unavoidable and heavy. When cows became as thin as skeletons in the spring and could not rise from the ground, every effort was directed towards preserving all the cattle stock. Yet, it was not unusual to loose a hundred cattle at once at a big farm due to the lack of fodder, as Martin observed in late seventeenth century.²⁵

Argyll

Argyll contributed to the cattle trade also. A petition of 1565-66 complained that Argyllshire drovers were hesitating to come to the Lowlands to trade, fearing confiscation of their cattle. The Privy Council encouraged them, provided that goods

²² Ibidem, p.139.

²³ Pococke and Kemp, *Tours in Scotland*, p.94.

²⁴ Martin, Macleod, et al., *A description of the Western Islands*, p.208-209.

²⁵ Ibidem, p.350.

were not taken back to Argyll. But in 1609, the Privy Council annulled this proclamation and prohibited trade with Mull (as well as the Western isles). Mull appears to have been the centre of droving traffic. Like Skye, it was the recipient of cattle from neighbouring islands and cattle thieving was prominent in the area; a list of boats and ferries were taken in 1682 and 1684 in order to check stolen cattle transferred by boats on Loch Lyon, Loch Rannoch, Loch Tay, and Loch Lomond. A raid by Maclean of Duart on the small islands of Gigha in 1579 resulted to the theft of 500 cattle (and 2,000 sheep).²⁶ In the spring of 1680, Sir Hugh Campbell was selling cattle to Walter Scott of Langhope, and also planned droves to England, due to the disturbed and unsafe conditions at home.²⁷ Archibald Campbell, the Laird of Knockbuy, is one of the few people for whom surviving records can show that he was associated with the cattle trade. He was dealing in cattle with kinsman Campbell of Inverawe and the records show that they enjoyed a turnover of 2,000 cattle in 1739-40.²⁸ The cows were purchased from Islay, Jura, Mull as well as from the west Highland mainland, and were allowed to graze on the parks and pasture lands of the Knockbuy estate (which is located more or less near present day Minard in Argyll). The cattle were then driven to the Lowland trysts and England. In *Galloway Gentlemen*, in 1744, the Laird of Knockbuy described his success breeding and selling cattle.

The North

Cattle were also important in the northern parts of Scotland, where the long distance and high droving costs might have suggested otherwise. In the flatter and richer arable areas of the Northeast, agriculture allowed for winter-feeding and it was not essential for cattle to be sold seasonally. In addition to that, a larger population and some coastwise export trade meant increased local demand. John Brand describing Caithness, Shetland and Orkney, in 1701, speaks of a considerable export

²⁶ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.84-93; RPC, 1st series, pp.401,470-471; RPC, 3rd series, vol. VIII, p.757; RPC,3rd series, vol. VII, p. 646; RPC, 3rd series, vol. VIII, p.532; RPC, 1st, vol. III, p.135.

²⁷ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.84-93; RPC, 1st series, pp.401,470-471; RPC, 3rd series, vol. VIII, p.757; RPC,3rd series, vol. VII, p. 646; RPC, 3rd series, vol. VIII, p.532; RPC, 1st, vol. III, p.135.

²⁸ Cregeen, E. "Recollection of an Argyllshire Drover." *Scottish Studies*, III, (1957), pp.143-146.

trade with Leith in barrelled beef, tallow, skins and hides.²⁹ But by mid-eighteenth century, cattle were also sold for droving. Daniel Defoe speaks of cattle from the north arriving at Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. Yet, the northern breeds were not of the best of quality and animals faced a four week journey to the south of Scotland. A letter of James Gunn of Braemore to Sir James Sinclair in 1743 suggests that many beasts did not hold out to travel.

Aberdeenshire, Angus and Moray

Aberdeenshire, Angus and Morayshire also played a very important role in the cattle trade. By the seventeenth century, Skye and Kintail sent cattle to local fairs in Aberdeenshire, even though this was a precarious thing to do as drovers had to cross the Highland zone, pay for rights of passage, or risk theft of their cattle. The proximity of the Highlands was a disadvantage and many complaints for cattle thefts from the west were reported.³⁰ Proposed measures until the mid-eighteenth century attempted to check cattle thieving by military detachments posted at various points on a line between Blair Atholl and the South, at key points, passes and inlets. A memorandum in 1746 talks of how difficult it was to arrest thieves, due to the locals' fears for revenge and the consequent lack of witnesses. The cost of criminal prosecution was £25 Sterling and few of those seeking justice possessed goods or property over £40 Sterling.³¹ But trade was not seriously interrupted; during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Privy Council arranged market prices for goods (including cattle) in Aberdeenshire, and many cattle routes between Aberdeen and the south were described. But generally, before the agricultural improvements had taken place, trade was of a small scale.

²⁹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.108-109; Brander, *The making of the Highlands*, p.149.

³⁰ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.115-117.

³¹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.118-120.

Chapter 6

Sources of Finance

Background: Sales, Purchases, Farmers and Drovers

In this section, the commercial infrastructure utilised by the drovers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is discussed. First, the general practices connected with the cattle trade are described below.

The deals were arranged during the summer period. Farmers had fattened cattle as much as they could in summer shielings or rich pastures in home and wanted to get rid of a proportion of the livestock.¹ They sometimes sold their cattle to the landlord (or clan chief) who subsequently sold them to the drover. Whether it was the landlord or the farmer who sold directly to the drover, the latter rarely had ready money, and so, he had to buy on credit. A drover who wanted to buy the cattle and transfer them to the Lowlands or England, acquired the cattle from the farmers or their landlords and sold them in Lowland markets. This usually took place at the trysts of Crieff and Falkirk, the special markets for sales and purchases of livestock, and mainly cattle (as discussed in the previous chapter). Lowlanders or Englishmen sometimes further fattened the cattle or merely consumed their beef, and the drover made a profit out of the transaction.

Promissory Notes and Bank Notes

A drover had two means in his disposal to pay for his purchases at an animal market. He could pay for the animals with bank notes that he acquired from the bank by trading in his “bill of exchange”. Alternatively, he could provide personal

¹ Donaldson, G., *Scotland : the shaping of a nation*. (Argyll : House of Lochar, 1999), pp.150-152.

“promissory notes”, which could be exchanged for bank notes three months after the animals had been sold at the market. The latter payment method was so widely used that drover promissory notes were considered as a valid currency form. By the second half of the eighteenth century, a bank representative at cattle markets provided the connection between the informal and the formal currency system. As a result, the drover and the banking system evolved in parallel in such a way that payment orders originating from the Highlands could be “negotiated” in increasingly more towns.²

The form of a written promise to pay the bill of exchange was very popular and these notes (subsequently replaced by bank notes) were essentially the currency of the district: they changed many hands and sometimes were not paid for a long time.³ A letter book of baillie John Steuart, an Inverness merchant of the early eighteenth century, shows how such bills helped him finance an active trade. This involved both home products (such as Easdale slate, Morayshire grain and Findhorn salmon) but also international goods (coffee beans from Rotterdam, wine from Bordeaux and olives from the Mediterranean).⁴

Adam Smith wrote that before the Union, the money brought to the Bank of Scotland for recoinage amounted to about 411,000 Sterling; he estimated that along with unreturned gold and silver coins as well as English money, more than one millions pounds Sterling would have been in circulation.⁵ But according to other estimates, in 1707, the total amount of coin in circulation was not more than £200,000 Sterling and money was scarce. Hume Brown estimated it at only £60,000 in copper, £60,000 in silver and £30,000 in gold, or £150,000 Sterling.⁶ But like banks in later years, mercantile houses from the seventeenth century financed trade. In the first thirty years of the eighteenth century, merchants, goldsmiths and commercial houses in Edinburgh also financed the cattle industry.⁷ But after 1723, the Royal Bank of Scotland extended its credit cash system and any reputable person

² Checkland, S.G., *Scottish banking a history, 1695-1973*. (Glasgow: Collins 1975), pp. 227-228.

³ Haldane, A. R. B. *The drove roads of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.45-47.

⁴ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.48-50.

⁵ Smith, A., *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: 1966), pp.298-299.

⁶ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.45-47; Brown, P. H., *History of Scotland* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1911), III, p.69.

⁷ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.48-50.

with three guarantors could obtain credit.⁸

Thus, in records of the period, the names of Highland chieftains or Lowland lairds appear as co-adventurers and guarantors a little less frequently than cattle dealers, businessmen, graziers etc.⁹ By the middle of the century many local branches and small independent banks enabled themselves to pay cash for their notes, or at their own option, made payments with interest at the end of every six-month period.¹⁰ From these sources, the drover obtained a letter of credit and a slender stock of cash. In the Court of Session papers, a petition of Yorkshire dealers also describes the above procedure. "Drovers from the south about to proceed to the Highlands, procure promissory notes in Edinburgh for different sums payable at some distance of time, when they expect to have finished their round and picked up all the cattle they mean to purchase".¹¹

The bankers in Edinburgh were reimbursed by bills drawn on the drovers' correspondent in London.¹² Yet, most of the times the bills were made payable at Crieff or Falkirk, the two main trysts, and sponsors (among them John Steuart, the Inverness merchant mentioned above), sent representatives there to get payments of bills held from the proceeds of cattle sales.

Scottish Bankers and Investment in the Cattle Trade

Livestock, and especially cattle trade at the East Anglia and London markets was particularly lucrative and attracted several Scottish bankers who were based in England; John Campbell for the Bank of Scotland was one of them. He attended the East Anglia markets and used bills of exchange, which were negotiable in London and Edinburgh to purchase bank notes. He would then organise the transportation of the goods he was marketing from Scotland, and also use the bank notes he bought at the markets to finance loans there, mostly between April to August each year. Revenues and repayments were collected not long after, between June and

⁸ Lenman, B., *An economic history of modern Scotland, 1660-1976* (London: Batsford, 1977), pp.195-200.

⁹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.60-62.

¹⁰ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.48-50.

¹¹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.45-47.

¹² Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.45-47.

November, resulting in a high turnover and growth for his bank. After the beginning of the eighteenth century, banks increased their involvement in the droving market in the form of loans and, as a result, enjoyed profits that were high enough to balance any losses generated by the official money exchange market. The increase in profits was also sufficient to draw the attention of the landlords and their associates to the need for financially sound banks.¹³

Competition Between the “Old” and the “New” Bank

The Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695, while the Royal Bank of Scotland was founded almost three decades later, in 1727. Both banks issued transferable shares to their shareholders and adopted fierce business practices in order to drive each other to bankruptcy: they would, for example, demand to cash in large amounts of their competitor’s bank notes, hoping to exhaust the latter’s money supply. The Bank of Scotland was the first to introduce an option for postponing payment, which was adopted in 1761 by the Royal Bank of Scotland and later by other banks. In 1728, the Royal Bank of Scotland introduced a new credit system, or “cash credit”, where interest was payable only on any amount withdrawn over a sum that was pre-specified on a bond. The loan was of indefinite duration, unless recalled on administrative grounds, and required two guarantors. At a time of unlimited shareholder liability, high-stature shareholders were valuable to a bank as an advertisement of its financial success.¹⁴

By 1728, the Bank of Scotland had realised the importance of monitoring the movement of its financial products to the Royal Bank of Scotland and also withdrew all loans to borrowers that were in any way related to the latter. The plan was to cut off the money flow from the Scottish cattle sales in England towards the Bank of England or the London office of the Royal Bank of Scotland, thus interrupting its main competitors’ business activities. The aggressive and subversive tactics that the two rival banks - the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank of Scotland - employed

¹³ Saville, R., *Bank of Scotland: a History, 1695-1995* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 68.

¹⁴ Munn, C.W., *The Scottish Provincial Banking Companies 1747-1864*. (Edinburgh: Donald, 1981), pp. 2-5.

with the occasional support of the drovers were damaging to the interests of both parties. They disrupted the banking as well as the droving system to such a degree that caused the displeasure of high-ranking shareholders and drovers. Eventually, the Bank of England intervened and set out operational guidelines for banks without, however, managing to prevent the two rivals from engaging in aggressive policies towards each other.¹⁵

The Financial Problems of the Process

This credit-system, embracing both the merchant-houses of Edinburgh and later that city's banks had many limitations. According to Adam Smith -at a later period- interest rates had remained at rather high levels (in comparison to England's rates) and reputable persons could rarely borrow money for less than 5% interest. More than that, the payment for the promissory note could in theory be "demanded at pleasure" while private bankers in London gave no interest for the money which was deposited to them.¹⁶

Further on, Scottish banks had to constantly employ agents in London to collect money for them at an expense, which was rarely below 1.5-2%. The money had to be insured by carriers at an additional expense of 0.75% or 15s on 100 pounds Sterling. However, those agents were not always able to replenish the coffers of their employers when they were emptied. When this happened, banks had to draw upon their correspondence in London bills of exchange to the extent of the sum, which they wanted. When those correspondents afterwards demanded the payment of this sum (together of course with interest and commission) some banks, due to ambitious and excessive circulation strategies, had no means to meet the debt and had to use a second set of bills upon the same or other correspondents in London. The same sum (or bills for this sum) would make in this manner sometimes more than 2-3 journeys while the debtor bank was always charged with interest and commission upon an increasing sum. This was a precarious and frequently ruinous strategy, which led to

¹⁵ Saville, *Bank of Scotland*, pp. 102-103.

¹⁶ Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, pp.92.

many bank crises.¹⁷

Moreover, the cattle trade was inherently vulnerable to weather changes, storms and snow. Many times in the period under consideration, bad weather devastated the livestock, leading to shortages and increased cattle mortality (as in 1674).¹⁸ Then, the cattle trade was also subject to inherent fluctuations relating to the demand in London, and the Lowlands, as well as political issues. Also, in 1745 an outbreak of cattle disease provoked the slaughter of a substantial number of cattle. Mortality in many areas reached the figure of 90 per cent (leading to an Act, which provided compensation of 40 shillings Sterling for each grown beast and 10 shillings for each calf).¹⁹ And although many drovers' names in the records of the trysts appear every year, many occasional drovers were dishonest and the Court of Session papers contain fine examples, which illustrate the chaotic nature of the cattle trade. Sales, sub-sales, mingling droves, cheating, sales at different trysts combined with inadequate bookkeeping, were characteristics of the cattle trade.²⁰

Tentative Markets and Unreliable Drovers

The infamous Rob Roy was a victim of these unpredictable fluctuations which plagued the cattle trade, and his story illustrates the above problems. He and his father Donald MacGregor were drovers and dealers of cattle. Various persons invested on the MacGregor family and financed their cattle dealing, like James

¹⁷ In another page Adam Smith describes the Edinburgh-London trading situation with the following example: Trader A in Edinburgh draws a bill upon B in London, payable two months after the date. In reality, B in London owes nothing to A in Edinburgh but he agrees to accept A's bill upon condition that before the terms of payment he shall redraw upon A in Edinburgh another bill equal to the first one together with interest and commission. This would be payable two months after that date. B accordingly, before the expiration of first two months, redraws the bill upon A in Edinburgh who again, before the expiration of the second two months, draws a second bill upon B in London payable again two months after. This could go on not only for months but sometimes for years. Interest could be 5% and commission was never less than 1.5% on each draught. The latter could be repeated 6 times per year. So, a loan could have cost more than 8% yearly and sometimes considerably more. Whereas ordinary profits of the majority of mercantile projects were running between 6-10%, it must have been a very fortunate outcome to be able to repay the enormous expense as well as to be left with a good surplus profit. (from Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, p.313, 304-305).

¹⁸ Flinn, M. W., *Scottish population history from the 17th century to the 1930s*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp.159-232.

¹⁹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.67; HM register house, Thomas Bell's Manuscript Letters.

²⁰ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.60-62, 76-77.

Graham, the Marquis of Montrose, Campbell of Blythswood, Graham of Gorthie, Sir John Shaw of Greenock and the MacFarlane of Inveruglas and Arrochar.²¹ The MacGregors obtained through them funds to buy livestock from Highland crofters and then they sold them in the Lowlands. In the years immediately before the Act of Union of 1707, the feeling of uncertainty about the future state of the economy was much higher. Many became bankrupt because of the wild fluctuations in cattle prices during that period, but Rob Roy MacGregor survived. He bought a large number of cattle in the early spring and during these difficult pre-Union years, he immediately released them to Lowland gentlemen who fattened them on their own grounds. He accepted reduced income and they accepted the gamble.²² However, others were hit much harder. The 1705 “Alien Act” enacted by the English, which threatened to impose a ban on the livestock industry, caused prices to fall by one- third at the trysts. As panic spread, by the end of Crieff tryst, prices had fallen by two-thirds. Even McLaren of Brig o’ Turk, a notable drover according to a contemporary, fell under and was unable to recover.²³

Dishonest Traders

The Privy Council records also include a couple of interesting additional entries, which shed more light on such problems of the cattle trade. The following brief summary shows how dealers, drovers and sponsors co-operated to achieve higher profits, but not without the risk of dishonesty and financial insecurity. A supplication by William McGuffock of “Altacry” and others was sent to the Council to ask for a commission to sequester certain property of John Little in Gretna and his son who intended to defraud them by conveying it to England. The complainers, William McGuffock of “Altacry”, James Graham, Robert Lin, and Edward McBryd had sold to John Little in Gretna and Thomas Little, his son, in Redkirk (near Annandale in the Borders), cattle to the value of £1,600 Sterling, the previous September.²⁴ John and Thomas Little promised payment in the following October (bonds were produced)

²¹ Murray, W. H., *Rob Roy MacGregor : his life and times* (Glasgow: R. Drew Pub., 1982), pp.134-135.

²² Ibidem, pp.140.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1680, pp.431-432.

and at the terms of payment appealed to the petitioners to prolong the deadlines until the next Martinmas. They promised faithfully to pay them at Edinburgh and many letters confirmed the terms of the agreement as well as the time and place they would perfect their engagements. But the complainers found out that John and Thomas Little were planning to move across the borders and pass permanently into England.²⁵ This would have resulted not only to the great loss to the complainers but also of several noblemen and gentlemen in Galloway and Carrick (who presumably had sold to the complainers large numbers of livestock with the promise that they would cash their owed amounts later that year). The complainers asked the Council to arrange so "that warrant and commision may be given to three people to inventar and sequestrat the haille cornes cattle, ingiht, plenishing and papers on the ground of the lands of Gretna and Redkirk and to take sufficient caution of these who pretend interest to the same or in whose custody they are, whereby the same may be secured to the petitioners, at least while the verity of the said lands fraudulent conveyances be made appear". The Lords indeed charged Thomas and John Little and their accomplices to appear before the Council.²⁶

From such examples it is easy to see how vulnerable was the cattle trade. £1,600 Sterling amounted at the time to perhaps 1,000 or 2,000 cattle and this is just an isolated case. Drovers, dealers and farmers relied on promissory notes, notes from unreliable banks as well as oral promises, which contributed sometimes to the downfall of the trade. Incidentally, once more it was again in the Southwest where such large-scale dealing took place; and although few in number, such cases confirm the findings of the port-books (as discussed later on) about the origins of the big droves.

Contemporary Discussions, Concerns, and Suggestions

After reading cases like the above in the Privy Council records, it is no surprise to also find a lot of concern about the future of the trade and its possible development. Drovers who had suffered by the late impositions on cattle conveyed to

²⁵ RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1680, pp.431-432.

²⁶ RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1680, pp.431-432.

England in 1669 provoked discussions among the lords of the Council about possible policies and measures. In 1680, another committee was called to take the advice of merchants and other persons on how to encourage trade, as the lords of Council considered that there was a great scarcity of money in the kingdom.²⁷ The reason, according to contemporaries, was the decay of the trade of exporting cattle, linen cloth, plaidings and woollen stockings into England, combined with the considerable sums, which were imported into Scotland.²⁸ This is perhaps evidence to suggest that the missing port-books of the pre 1680s period contained much higher exports than the next decades. Alternatively, the Privy Council's discussions were perhaps targeted towards a more general concern, that it was becoming even more evident how England and Scotland were walking along two different paths; Scotland's economy could not compete with the English and perhaps the Council's concerns reflects only that.

A lengthy report full of proposals and arguments was submitted to the committee of trade in 1681 by the provost of Linlithgow, and throughout its many pages additional information is revealed about the economy and the livestock trade. The provost of Linlithgow suggested that cattle were the only profitable goods to export but even they could not yield as much profit as before. English merchants who formerly paid drovers with ready money were now unwilling to commit such amounts to unreliable dealers of such a precarious trade. Hence, the latter were driven out of credit as well. The result was that drovers could not buy and export as many cattle as formerly, nor could they buy them so cheap, since they could not obtain ready money. The drovers were obliged to take the cattle upon a bond for a specific period of time and so reduced the potential profit in doing so.²⁹ Yet, drovers did not return English money, as they had in previous times, either. They sold it to Scottish wine merchants (by which the latter answered their French bills at London) and the drovers took the bills upon Scotland. Essentially, the drover made a loss from two loans in the process. At first, he had to obtain credit within Scotland in order to be able to buy the cattle from farmers. Then, after droving the cattle to England and selling them, he received English payment; this English money was given to Scottish

²⁷ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1669, p.5.

²⁸ RPC, 3rd series, vol. 6, 1680, pp.431-432.

²⁹ RPC, 3rd series, vol. 7, 1681, pp.652-682.

merchants in London in exchange of a bill which the drover could cash when he returned to Scotland. Naturally, both the initial credit and the second bill carried interest charges –and perhaps exchange charges too-, which inevitably reduced the available funds back in Scotland for the next round of cattle purchases in the same or next season. It appeared to have been common practice for drovers to sell their currency to wine traders who would then use it to pay the French wine sellers. The sale of the currency and its consequent export compromised its value, so the Scottish authorities ruled in 1681 that all bills of exchange should be available for cashing when recalled within a reasonable period of time.³⁰ So to summarise the provost's argument, all the good Scotland got from the trade was that the cattle industry partially balanced the trade deficit with France but again not considerably.³¹

The provost of Linlithgow implied, contrary to Adam Smith that the cattle exports to England were counterproductive for the Scottish economy, and his argument sounds reasonable. He quoted the amount of £7,560 Sterling yearly as the total customs and excise of goods from England, (which was naturally “complemented” by a considerable trade in illegal goods).³² He further suggested that the bankers in England knowing the Scottish richer classes' curiosity to obtain London wares (which were considered luxury items that increased one's status) held the buyers at whatever rates they pleased. The Scottish merchants were therefore unable to make up for these goods without creating an export deficit. Therefore, Scotsmen were forced to carry Scottish cattle in England, a practice which drained Scotland out of money and gold and according to the provost ate up all the profits which could be made by any other trade. As a consequence, the chances to develop manufactories in Scotland were eliminated.³³ Further research of a macroeconomic nature would be very useful to elaborate on the above points (see conclusion). Issues like the scarcity of Scottish money, the presence of a problematic credit procedure as well as the prevalence of English coinage were reported by other sources as well (such as by Adam Smith or the Lords of the Privy Council as mentioned in previous pages of this chapter).

³⁰ Checkland, *Scottish banking*, p. 13.

³¹ RPC, 3rd series, vol. 7, 1681, pp.652-682.

³² RPC, 3rd series, vol. 7, 1681, pp.652-682.

³³ RPC, 3rd series, vol. 7, 1681, pp.652-682.

Naturally, a new set of discussions and concerns emerged a couple of decades later, during the pre-Union times. Most of the arguments, negotiations and outcomes are well documented in the secondary (and primary) literature. The cattle trade was acknowledged as the main source of Scottish profits and as the only good, which put Scotland in a position of having a positive balance of trade with a country (England).

Some argued that it was only fair that the English were also free to export to Scotland, and they viewed the effect of this as positive, since Scotsmen would get a chance to improve technologies in order to compete with quality goods (in trades as wool or silk).³⁴ In relation to the cattle trade, some believed, according to J. Clerk's history of the Union, that England was merely lenient in allowing such massive exports of cattle, the beef of which, according to another, unknown writer, did not really please the English. The main advantage that England enjoyed was the improvement of its grounds. The lean Scottish cattle thrived and grew fat on English lands as no English or Irish cattle could (hence providing valuable manure).³⁵

Another source mentioned the Scottish fears that English breeders of cattle would attempt to discourage the Scottish cattle exports. This was a valid fear. Many had considered the provision that Scottish cattle to England would be subject to no duty useless, since English landowners on the Borders charged private taxes on incoming beasts. Anti-unionists did indeed point out the example of the city of Carlisle (where such taxes applied) and also hoped that such rights (as founded since ancient times or on very long traditions) would be difficult to revoke, hence the union agreement would collapse.³⁶ England however did not seem to want to discourage Scottish cattle exports, and its economy could continue to absorb large quantities of beef. The English parliament indeed bought such custom privileges from the landowners at an agreed price to remove all obstacles from the Union.³⁷ From the Scottish side, there was no technology or infrastructure to export salted flesh, send shipments, or trade with other countries in significant quantities, and it

³⁴ Clerk, J., *History of the Union of Scotland and England* (Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson, 1993), p.135.

³⁵ Defoe, D., *The state of the excise after the union, compared with was it is now* (Edinburgh: 1706), p.16; Clerk, J., *History of the Union of Scotland and England*, p.135.

³⁶ Clerk, J., *History of the Union of Scotland and England*, p.142; Defoe, D., *A discourse upon an union of the two kingdoms of England Scotland* (London: 1707), pp.15-16.

³⁷ Clerk, J., *History of the Union of Scotland and England*, p.142.

appears that there was no other choice than to continue in the way that the economy had specialised over the previous decades.³⁸ As J. Clerk put it “since the Union of Crowns, Scots had conducted their own affairs in such a way that they could neither live in fellowship with the English nor secure their freedom by breaking away”.³⁹

³⁸ Defoe, D., *Scotland in danger, or, a serious enquiry into the dangers which Scotland has been in, is now in, or may be in since the Union; with some humble proposals for the remedy* (Edinburgh, 1708?), p.17.

³⁹ Clerk, J., *History of the Union of Scotland and England*, p.82; Interestingly, he writes elsewhere that many believed to his day that under Cromwell’s rule Scotland had prospered as at no other time, and that trade flourished while justice was firmly upheld. The new regime afterwards reportedly sacrificed Scotland’s trade to English greed and wasted or cancelled all of the shared privileged that the Scots had enjoyed (such as being able to trade with the colonies for example). (from Clerk, J., *History of the Union of Scotland and England*, p.79).

Chapter 7

The Droving Journey, and Costs

Tolls, Roads and Bridges

After credit had been secured and cattle were purchased, the drover picked up all the cattle he had managed to buy, and drove them to the Lowland markets or England. This was a long journey and before the eighteenth century, when law and order was not fully established all throughout Scotland, it could also be a dangerous adventure.

It is in the first half of the seventeenth century, that one can find the most road improvements (financed by custom dues on cattle and other livestock). This ties in with the development of a regular livestock trade to England and the establishment of custom points in the same period. There are more than ten projects for the construction or improvement of bridges and roads in the period from 1605 to 1634, after which there is a notable decline of any improvement works or suggestions. The tolls were not fixed, and varied according to local requests and particular situations, although there are only a few large discrepancies in the amount levied. Typical figures suggest a toll of 2d Scots per footman, 4d for each horseman, 4d for each horse with load, 4d for each oxen or cow, 1d for 10 sheep, 8d for each pack of wool skin, cloth or goods, and 12d for each cart load. These were the rates granted to John Brown of Gorgie Mill for building a bridge at Saughtonhall and repairing the new bridge over the water of Leith.¹ For the west bridge of Kirkcaldy, the rate for every nolt was halved (2d Scots). In Dumbarton, however, a seven-year toll (later extended to another nineteen years after the expiry date) ordered an amount of 8d. Scots for each cow, ox, horse or mare to be levied.²

Other major projects included the repair of a bridge at Tullibody, the repair of the harbour of the burgh of Irvine, as well as the maintenance of the port of

¹ RPC, 1st series, vol.7, p.741.

² RPC, 1st series, vol.7, pp.319, 431.

Portpatrick (for which purpose 2s. Scots were granted to the Viscount of Airdrie for each horse or cattle; presumably this was to be released from the revenues of the customs of Irish beasts and was not in addition to the import duty).³ Tolls usually applied from five to fifteen years, although they were renewed frequently.

Geographically, they were focused on the Lowlands, Aberdeenshire, and mainly, as expected, on the Southwest (in Galloway for example, “a bridge twice build upon the water of Comnewar” was a common highway for Irish and Scots cattle to England, and a toll was requested only for cattle and horses).⁴

It is interesting to observe that the cattle dealers and drovers indirectly funded many of the later, post 1660, improvements in the roads and bridges as well. In an 1666 act for example, concerning the repair of the bridge over the water of Irvine, the Privy Council ordered the lairds there to extract a custom for the space of the following nineteen years. Six pennies Scots was the toll for every horseman, eight pennies for every load of victual, two shillings for every pack of merchandise and goods, four pennies for every ox, stirk, mare or quoy, and another four pennies for every footman passing through with goods to be sold or bought.⁵ In 1668, a similar plan, the causewaying of a road in the Barony of Kinneil, was assigned to Robert Hamilton, (the chamberlain to the Duke of Hamilton). The lords of the Privy Council granted him a warrant to extract four pennies for every horse, cattle or 10 sheep, and eight pennies Scots for every loaded cart of goods or merchandise. The tolls were applied for the following five years.⁶ A couple of years later, in 1680, a supplication by the magistrates at the burgh of Dumbarton asked for a warrant for a voluntary contribution towards the purpose of building a bridge over the Leven to improve trade. They suggested that “the want of a bridge in this place does very much prejudice the trade of cows which is one of the most considerable commodities of the nation”. They further argued that many cows drowned crossing the Leven or had to travel by way of difficult roundabout routes, since ferrying them was a precarious activity at that location.⁷

Yet, some powerful locals appear to have taken advantage of the situation.

³ RPC, 1st series, vol.10, pp.582, 555; RPC, 1st series, vol.11, p.179; RPC, 2nd series, vol.2, p.64.

⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.5, pp.4-5, 322, 339, 367.

⁵ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, 1666, pp.129-130.

⁶ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, 1668, p.560.

⁷ PRC, 3rd series, vol.6 1680, p.498.

There is a lengthy dispute between the Duke of Lennox and drovers from Argyll and Lennox about the unjustified extraction of a toll for cattle passing from the castle of Dumbarton. Mr. George Stewart of Kettlestoun, the agent for the Duke of Lennox, claimed that the Duke and his predecessors had traditionally been used to receive four shillings Scots for each ox, bull, cow or stot brought forth from the Sheriffdom of Argyll or from any other part of the castle. Alternatively, the toll to be levied was one cow out of 30, if the person did not have the aforementioned amount of money (and £8 Scots would be given back to the owner). But drovers refused to pay the custom and the Duke of Lennox asked from the Privy Council permission to seize their cattle.⁸ The response of the Privy Council is illustrative of the problems this centralised body faced when it had to determine what was happening at a local level. Initially, the Duke of Lennox obtained the right to seize the cattle passing through the castle estates. Subsequently, a couple of years later, he was refused the right as a petition by the drovers suggested that they had been in possession of these paths, since time immemorial, and there was never any act for the levying of tolls at the castle. After more than a decade of uncertainty, in 1673 and again in 1688 (with further disputes) the drovers were officially freed of any obligation to the laird (although it does not appear that they were paying the dues in the first place). The laird pleaded innocence and claimed that he had never tried to illegally extract any toll from the drovers. No matter the legal outcome however, it is clear that the Privy Council was not fully able to administer justice for certain events. Local issues of tolls, customs, and improvements did not feature prominently as a priority in the Privy records, compared for example to the illegal Irish imports or cattle thefts.⁹

Safety, Passes, and the Disarming Acts

Another revealing set of entries in the Privy Council records involves the 1674 act which commanded all Highland drovers to possess passes for themselves and their following, a decision which had resulted from many complaints about frequent robberies at which horses and cattle were stolen and subsequently sold for

⁸ RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1661, pp.100-101.

⁹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1664, pp.533-535; RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1661, pp.654-655; RPC, 3rd series, vol.9, 1684, pp.86-93.

profit. The Privy Council also put sheriffs, stewards, bailiffs of regality and others in authority to apprehend and imprison any drovers who travelled without passes. The latter had to contain the names of their servants, anyone else employed in the group, as well as the persons to which they were accountable.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it was not possible to find someone arrested for that purpose among the Privy Council records, and no other entries refer to the effects of such policies. Drovers were exempted from the Disarming Acts following the rising of 1715, and were also among the few persons who were issued with licenses to carry guns and pistols. In 1725 for example, General Wade issues 230 licenses to foresters, drovers and cattle dealers permitting them to carry such weaponry.¹¹

The Journey's General Costs

In Bishop Forbes' journal, a large drove with horses and a leadman (a drover with a pony or horse who went ahead to find quick routes and rich pastureland) is described. Boys looked after the cattle and the whole group was divided into many minor droves so cattle would not hurt each other.¹²

It is difficult to make an accurate estimation of the total costs of the journey, due to the limitations of the secondary literature and primary sources, but a summary of the number of scattered contemporary records regarding this issue follows. Bridges and roads toll charges usually cost 2d a beast, as discussed above, but it is unclear how much traffic was passing through. Market dues at Crieff were about 2d a beast for cattle.¹³ In addition to these costs, until 1707, tolls had to be paid for cattle crossing to England. The duties gradually decreased over the seventeenth century and by 1644, the excise duty had been lowered to 24 shillings Scots, while by 1680, tolls were only 10 shillings.¹⁴ In 1661, dues had been fixed at 2 oz. bullion for every

¹⁰ RPC. 3rd series, vol.4, 1674, pp.280-281.

¹¹ Bingham, C., *Beyond the highland line : Highland history and culture* (London: Constable, 1991), pp.147-149.

¹² Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland*. (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.35-37.

¹³ Whyte, I., *Agriculture and society in seventeenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1979), p.238.

¹⁴ Whyte, I., *Agriculture and society in seventeenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1979), p.238.

four cows or three oxen, to suppress bad coinage.¹⁵ Additional duties had to be paid in England and the tolls fluctuated according to the protests of English graziers whose cattle products were undersold. But the duties were not as substantial as to deter drovers. And, still, much traffic was illegal in the first place, according to many complaints.¹⁶

Estimates and Accounts of Total Journey Costs

There are finally some contemporary estimations of the total cost of the journey, (which are also summarised, along with the above estimates, in Table 20). An account of cattle sales, of Justice Forrester, an apparently small-scale exporter, has survived from the late seventeenth century in the Gifts and Deposits section of the National Archives of Scotland and it is interesting to observe the details.¹⁷ Justice Forrester employed a drover named John Reddy to travel from an unspecified region of Scotland to Norfolk to sell the cattle. The account notes the charges to drive and sell 150 cattle (which eventually fetched £341 Sterling).¹⁸ Some barely legible entries provide some additional information. The total charges of transporting the cattle were £44 0s 2d Sterling, which averages 6s a head. Most of the entries are less than one pound Sterling and usually they consist of charges for grass. The charge for the drover(s) to walk home was just £1 5s 0d Sterling, which essentially leaves the major costs being land charges for cattle (almost £43 out of the £44 Sterling).¹⁹ In essence, 13 per cent of the prices the cattle eventually realised reflected journey costs and expenses for grass. Of course it is not known whether this was a year with exceptionally low or high returns for sold cattle, and it also not known how much the cattle cost in the first place (or if they were bred on Justice Forrester's estate). But considering the prices of the period (see next chapters) the profits do not seem that large. Finally in the aforementioned account, there is also a credit entry of £14 Sterling (the drover's salary?) and an obscure charge to David Nai(r)e of £310 Sterling, an amount which balances the account and leaves only a positive balance of

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.15-17.

¹⁷ GD26/5/544.

¹⁸ GD26/5/544.

¹⁹ GD26/5/544.

18s.²⁰ Perhaps the latter was the representative of Justice Forrester in Norwich who was responsible to appropriate the revenues of the journey.

A Wigtownshire record gives a figure of 7s 1½ d Sterling a head, for a drove to southern England in 1728.²¹ Yet, accounts from 1739 to 1745 reveal that many journeys during the period were made with expenses of 4s or sometimes less, at a cost of 1d to 2d Sterling per cattle per day.²²

The reward of the drover varied. Sir Alexander Maxwell of Monreith in Wigtownshire, 1711, mentioned in his cashbooks how he paid the modest sum of 50 guineas as droving expenses for beasts sold for £2,372 Sterling.²³ It was said that sometimes the drover was paid in terms of a daily wage or in terms of the difference of price he realised in the market (although the latter case was not found in any accounts collected for this thesis). One shilling Sterling however, appears to be a reasonable estimate and is the usual figure encountered until the mid eighteenth century. A cattle trader's account from 1739 to 1745 shows that a similar amount was divided into 10d (or sometimes less) for droving during the day and about 5d for watching during the night. The return journey was paid at about 5-6d a day and a similar figure is observed from both a 1688 and 1743-1745 account.²⁴ It seems that the quantity of cattle transported or unforeseen circumstances (like frost and bad weather) did not account for any difference at all in the drover's wage. Whether it was a couple of cattle transported for a few days, or 50 cattle to England, the wage appears to have been daily, and fixed.

Finally, there are a few accounts, which suggest how much the price difference was between the purchase and sale of cattle. In correspondence from 1740 between the Earl of Stair and Alexander Ross, factor at Culhorn, the attached accounts show that the difference was slightly more than 30 per cent. Of course this might have been an untypical case, yet it applies to a two-year period when more than 500 cattle were bought and sold. It is also partially confirmed with a few other similar accounts, which show that the above figure sometimes dropped to 20 to 25 per cent (as in the example of cattle from the Southwest providing revenue of £1,600 Sterling, £300

²⁰ GD26/5/544.

²¹ GD, 135/2743, GD 135/2321.

²² GD, 135/2743, GD 135/2321.

²³ GD, 10/1307; GD, 10/1296; GD, 135/2321; GD, 6/1577; GD, 124/17/144/6; GD, 135/2743.

²⁴ GD, 10/1307; GD, 10/1296; GD, 135/2321; GD, 6/1577; GD, 124/17/144/6; GD, 135/2743.

being the price difference).²⁵ These figures probably apply more to the case of large farms rather than the case of a drover roaming around the countryside to buy cattle from farmers. From mid-eighteenth century and for the next couple of decades the Buchanan accounts in Stirlingshire show a similar and often much higher yield. This was in the region of 40-45 per cent for stots, 30 per cent for cows and a loss of about 15-20 per cent for milk cows, but it is the first figure that should be taken as more relevant to the cattle trade. Yet, at this later period cattle were fed to larger weights through a more organised agricultural system.

The amount of £2 to £3 Sterling seems to have been the most common price for bought or sold cattle in the early eighteenth century, and many accounts from 1710 to 1740 consistently mention such prices.²⁶ It is interesting to note that Scots money were still mentioned in most of such account books until mid-eighteenth century, and frequently the Sterling equivalent was written as well. An early account in 1711 lists the price in both currencies with payment entries subsequently listed in Sterling, but all the other charges in Scots.²⁷ One can refer to Appendix 7 for a few brief samples of the accounts of such cattle traders where it will be observed that the scarcity of evidence and the irregular nature of the entries can explain why a more long-term, reliable and comprehensive study in this chapter could not take place.

Conclusions

In summary, it seems clear from this section that some form of commercial infrastructure had been built around the cattle trade and modes of conduct were established in the business. Local markets and in particular the main tryst of Crieff, and later Falkirk, had developed for marketing livestock internally or satisfying English demand, and already by the 1660s, Edinburgh merchant-houses had become heavily involved in financing the cross-border cattle trades. Border drovers were able at that time to draw bills on Edinburgh merchant houses which would be settled when they received cash from English dealers for the animals they delivered to them.

²⁵ GD, 135/2321.

²⁶ GD, 10/1307; GD, 10/1296; GD, 135/2321; GD, 6/1577; GD, 124/17/144/6; GD, 135/2743.

²⁷ GD, 10/1307; GD, 10/1296; GD, 135/2321; GD, 6/1577; GD, 124/17/144/6; GD, 135/2743.

By the 1680s, many problems with the system had become apparent. Many of the drovers did not return English money as they had in previous times, but sold it instead to Scottish wine merchants (by which the latter answered their French bills at London) and the drovers took bills upon Scotland. The cash received there provided the funding (reduced by the costs of a double-exchange) for the next round of cattle purchases. But from the late 1690s and with increasing English intervention, situations like these were being resolved. The livestock, and especially the cattle trade at the East Anglia and London markets was particularly lucrative and attracted several Scottish bankers who were based in England. Their activities involved attending the East Anglia markets and using bills of exchange, which were negotiable in London and Edinburgh to purchase bank notes. They would then organise the transportation of the goods to be marketed in Scotland and also used the bank notes bought at the markets to finance loans there, mostly between April to August each year. Revenues and repayments were collected not long after, between June and November, resulting in a high turnover and growth of funds. After the beginning of the eighteenth century, banks increased their involvement in the droving market in the form of such loans and, as a result, enjoyed profits that were high enough to balance any losses generated by the official money exchange market.

In summary it seems that the pacification of the Borders had brought the opportunity to create a new network of roads and bridges servicing the requirements of a new cross-border trade. The improvements were not evenly spread throughout Scotland though, and many Highland territories were still plagued by lawlessness and the absence of an economic infrastructure. By the 1660s, the same sense of law and order and opportunities for trade that had prevailed for about half a century in the Borders were beginning to be established in these lands. A new sense of security prevailed at the markets and fairs, and most notably at the great Crieff tryst, established at this time. Drovers, who had passed in safety along new roadways and bridges, could conduct their business and raise the necessary finance for their trade. These years thus saw the creation of a new commercial infrastructure within which the cattle trade could develop, as markets underwent a process of widening and deepening.

**Market Structures and Price Movements in
the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth
Centuries**

Chapter 8.

Cattle Prices: Methodological Problems, the Advantages and Limitations of the Sources

The Difficulty in Determining Long-term Price Trends within Markets

A crucial step into understanding the market structure of the cattle industry is to determine the price of cattle and how this changed geographically and chronologically over the course of the period examined in this study. In general, all of the prices presented here can be referred to in the Appendix, Tables 21-31. Gibson and Smout in *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* have collected a large number of prices deriving from rent payments, cattle purchases, annual valuations, or Privy Council surveys. These collections serve as a very useful reference database to understand cattle prices, and here they were organized, analyzed and graphed in order to provide a more meaningful picture. Additional figures collected for this thesis were also added for further evidence.

There are many problems with the data however. Distinctions between age, location of sale, breeds, size of cattle, transport costs and other relevant parameters were not found in most of the archives. Further, many of the figures are misleading, such as the isolated cases of the small-estates records, or the valuations of stolen cattle by the Privy Council (which gave much higher figures due to legal costs and victims' demands). Yet, by looking at the figures, the general longitudinal trends can be inferred. Price changes are, as will be shown, in accordance with the pattern observed for the volume of the cattle export trade. The latter slowly expanded from the seventeenth century until the first half of the eighteenth century, then boomed until the end of the century (continuing the increase until the 1830-40s after which it faced an abrupt decline). The price of cattle varied accordingly. However, before

discussing these results it would be useful to discuss the aforementioned limitations of the sources more extensively.¹

First of all, there were various breeds and sizes of immature animals. The price difference that only a half-month or an extra year of fattening could make is well illustrated by the relative prices of the stock bought and sold at the Buchanan estates (see Table 22 in the Appendix). Second, as Gibson and Smout readily acknowledge, in some of the tables, it is rarely stated how old exactly (not to mention how big) any of the cattle may have been when bought or sold. See Figure 8.1 for the significant differences between cattle prices of different ages, as calculated from the few sources which mentioned age.² Third, it is difficult to subtract or add to the price a factor accounting for seasonal variation; the cattle trade was a highly seasonal industry (as extensively discussed in a later section) and surely this is a parameter which distorts the analysis. As the Leven and Melville, and the Carskey series demonstrate, prices varied significantly according to season and month (see Tables 26-28 and Figure 8.2 for how strong the seasonal bias was).

Yet, it must be noted that it is usually other animals and their products which varied more throughout a given year. Seasonal variation is seen at its most extreme in the case of the meat of young animals, particularly veal and lamb, because the beasts themselves were comparatively uniform in size and age, and the complications which arose from selling very varied adult animals do not apply. The price of cattle and beef carcasses does not appear to be influenced by season that much. More importantly, it is the size and age of the beasts that determines their price, and in the Leven and Melville accounts for example, both the lowest and the highest quotations happen to occur in March and April. But of course very little was bought between the end of September and early March to perhaps highlight any differences. Presumably, salted beef was the staple of the winter months.³

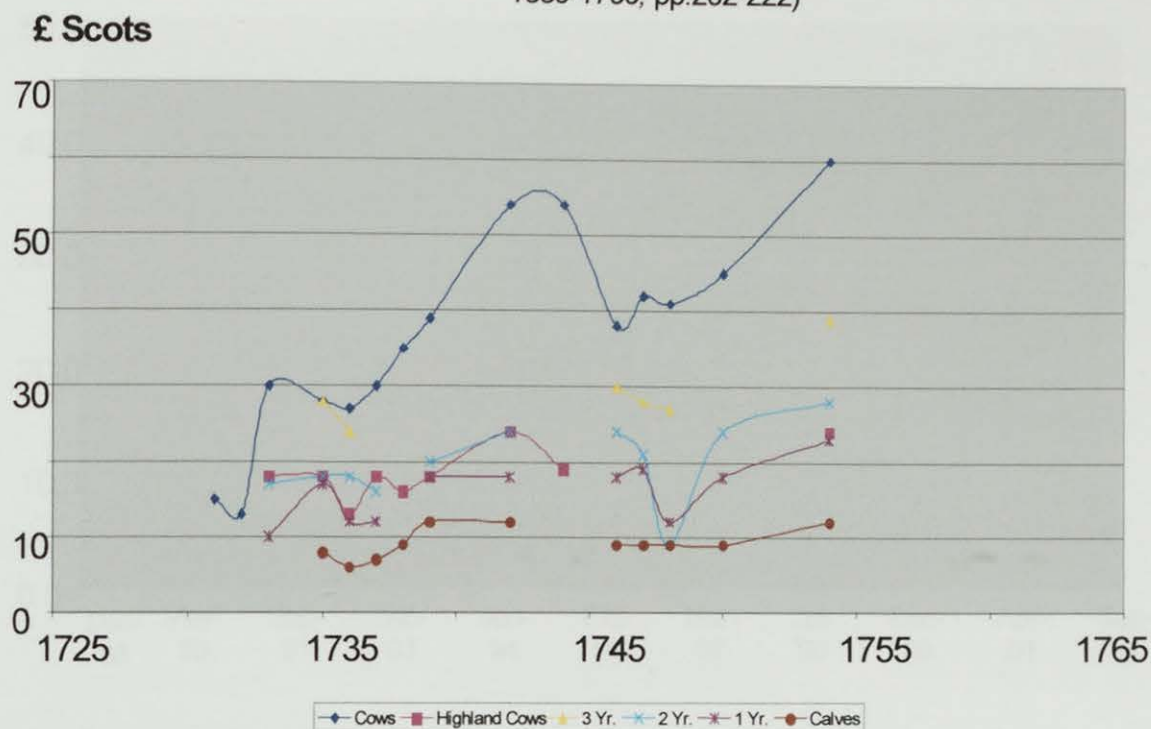
¹ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge England - New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.188-189, 193-194.

² Ibidem, pp.187-197.

³ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland*, pp.187-197.

Figure 8.1: Price Difference between Cattle of Different Groups and Ages (Melville Estate)

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222)

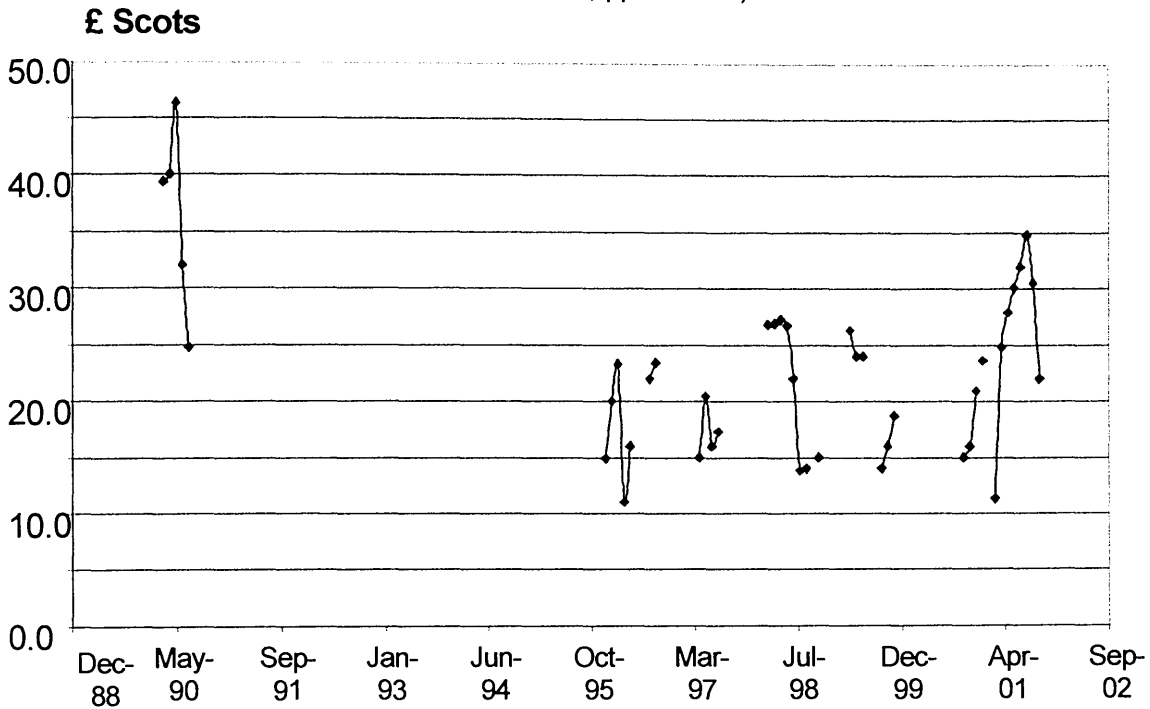


Even straightforward terms like cattle or nolt are rather ambiguous and sometimes confusing. These terms often are supposed to include both oxen and cows ('kye'). The former, however, might have been powerful draught animals used for the plough, worn-out beasts destined for a final feeding before slaughter, or young animals at four-years old ready for the drove (which were also named stots, marts, or bullocks in the case of younger animals). "Cows" was also a term which contemporaries frequently used to name all of the above different classes of animals; the word could be used to describe young animals ready for the drove, or milk cows (sold with or without their calves).⁴

⁴ Gibson and Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland*, pp.187-197.

Figure 8.2: Cattle Prices in Different Months/Seasons (1690-1701)

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222)



All of the above reasons explain the sometimes-large differences found among contemporaries' estimates of cattle prices. The Privy Council, for example, valued stolen cattle in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century at about £20 Scots, (or £1 13s 6d Sterling). In 1627, the justices of peace in Kincardineshire complained of abnormally high prices at about £2 15s 7d Sterling, a figure consistent with the Privy Council. But by the time of the Act of Union, cows were also reported to cost only about 20s to 27s Sterling. Pennant talked of cattle valued in 1736 at 25s Sterling at Colonsay, but a reference in the Court of Session mentioned the purchase of 300 cattle by a Yorkshire drover in Colonsay and Jura at £505 Sterling (almost £1 12s per head).⁵ In 1740, three-year old cattle were reported to have been sold at £1

⁵ Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.56-59; Pennant, T., *A tour in Scotland, and voyage to the Hebrides; MDCCLXXII: Part I-II*. (London: Printed for Benj. White, 1790), Part I, p.274.

Sterling per head, but by 1770, the prices were reported to be about £2 Sterling, and in the 1790s about £3, a percentage increase too high to be accounted for by the overall price increase.⁶

It is true however that from 1707 to 1794, cattle prices were reported to rise four-fold in many cases, with most of the increase occurring after 1740⁷; as presented in detail later on, there was a definite increase from the mid-eighteenth century but again with many fluctuations. In 1763, a Yorkshire drover bought Skye cattle for two guineas on the promise that they would be delivered at Falkirk. But 10 years later, Barra beasts fetched only £1 7s 6d Sterling. Pennant writes that in 1772 that the price in Skye, Islay, and Colonsay was about £2 to £3 Sterling and Mull cattle in the same period were reported to be sold at about 30s. to 50s. Sterling. And in 1786, another reference talks of Skye cattle selling again at £2 to £3 Sterling.⁸

The figure of £2-3 Sterling seems to have been the average price mentioned in the *Statistical Accounts* and *Agricultural Surveys* of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The figure of £4 Sterling per head appears to have been the average for Falkirk in the same period. In the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries, the Napoleonic wars had further increased cattle to prices of £5 Sterling.⁹ Yet, when cattle prices had supposedly reached their zenith, Gray mentions a figure of only £3 Sterling in 1830. (Perhaps more interestingly, he adds the opinion on how the estate papers show that rents were not adjusted accordingly to match changes in cattle prices and were fixed at a time when farmers got £5 Sterling per head. Rents to landowners accumulated in this way and thus lead to severe changes in the status quo, as in the case of the Highlands).¹⁰

⁶ Gray, M., *The Highland economy, 1750-1850* (Westport Conn: Greenwood Press, 1976), pp.142-143.

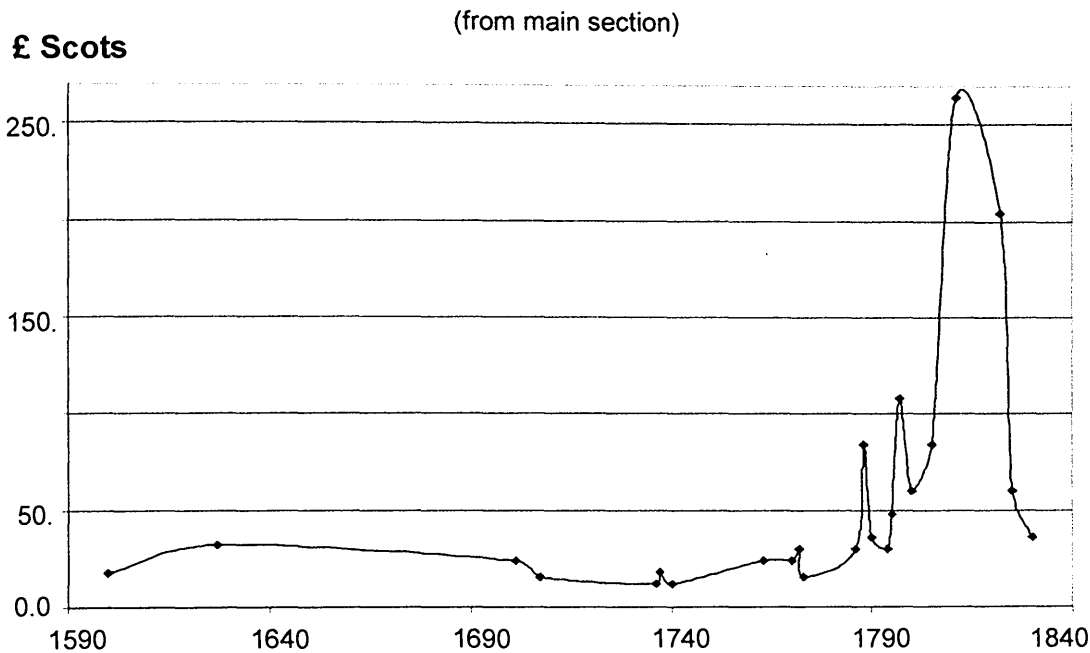
⁷ Lythe, S. G. E. and J. Butt, *An economic history of Scotland, 1100-1939* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975), pp.15-17.

⁸ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.56-59; *Farmer's Magazine*, 1804, p.393 Pennant, *A tour in Scotland*, Part 1, pp.263, 357; Knox, J., *A tour through the highlands of Scotland, and the Hebride Isles in MDCCLXXXVI* (London: Printed for J. Walter, 1787).

⁹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.56-59; Great Britain, P. H. o. C., *Report from the Select Committee on promissory notes in Scotland and Ireland* (London, 1826); McCombie, W., *Cattle and cattle-breeders* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1867), p.101.

¹⁰ Gray, *The Highland economy*, p.182.

Figure 8.3: Prices of Cattle, 16th-19th Century (Scattered Estimates)



The numbers above, although occasionally confusing and incongruous, have been collected in Table 21 and illustrated in Figure 8.3 (where a general pattern can be cautiously inferred, if one discounts the overstatements and exaggerated fluctuations). These estimates above also show that a more systematic analysis of the available numbers in primary sources and Gibson and Smout’s database is needed to add to the discussion of cattle prices. Yet, additional obstacles are encountered in this, with the examination of each separate set of sources. Before proceeding to the next chapter, where an attempt is made to paint a fuller picture of cattle prices through out the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a discussion here follows about the problems of relating grain, sheep and cattle prices.

Grain and Sheep as Unreliable Indicators of Cattle Prices

Compared to cattle, sheep and their products do not appear to play a very significant part in the Scottish economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to several commentators, including Adam Smith, the Act of Union of 1707 led to a fall in the price of wool as Scotland was excluded from trading with European countries. Therefore, the owners of the Border estates who specialized in breeding and selling sheep could not enjoy a high profit margin. (Adam Smith suggested however that the rise in cattle prices compensated for that loss).¹¹ In the Highlands, before the mid-eighteenth century, sheep were scarcely kept for the market at all. Because of all these reasons, Gibson and Smout are reluctant to attach a large significance to the collected sheep figures, which are not satisfactory in providing long or short-term trends.¹² Hence, a longitudinal comparison of cattle versus sheep prices has not been attempted here.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that grain is not a good indicator of cattle prices. Contrary to other agricultural economies, there is little sign of rising meat prices in years of famine and dearth of grain. If there is any pattern, it is a very weak inverse relationship. It seems that there was not a point in time when the price of meat was so low or the price of grain so high as to tempt consumers to switch from one nutritional source to another. In other words, one would have expected an increase in meat consumption in seasons when grain was scarce, as the latter would become less affordable and the former would form a more significant part of the diet of farmers. Consequently, a scarcity of grain would result to a (perhaps, lesser) scarcity of meat, and both grain and meat prices would increase. But this does not happen. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the poor might have had soup kitchens with small quantities of meat and vegetables when oatmeal was too expensive, but in essence meat and grain were not substitution goods.¹³ On the contrary, the effects of the grain dearth were likely to tempt livestock producers in upland areas to dispose of some of their cattle in order to urgently buy supplies of meal. As the supply of livestock increased and demand remained constant (or lessened), cattle prices in the spring months (after the bad winter) decreased. The process ensured that a large number of cattle would also be in supply in the following

¹¹ Smith, *An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, pp.246-247.

¹² Gibson and Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland*, pp.187-197.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

autumn, when the farmers realized they could not afford to hold on to their livestock until the next season.¹⁴ Subsequently, in the next year there would be a shortage of animals, which would result in reduced income (and obviously higher prices). So, cattle prices did increase as a result of bad harvests, not immediately, but instead during the next couple of seasons, when farmers slowly built their stock numbers anew. In richer families, such as the household of Leven and Melville, the whole process did not make much difference: during the year of the grain dearth, the costly bad harvest would be partly offset with buying cheaper animals. Gibson's tables frequently show the above patterns, which were more prevalent in the seventeenth century; cattle prices for the 1620s and 1690s especially, appear to show variations that conform to that description.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

Chapter 9

Conclusions and Discussion on Cattle Prices

Stability and Increase of Prices: the Seventeenth Century

The tables in the Appendix to this study, despite their limitations, allow for a very useful analysis on the cattle prices. The discussion below can be cross-checked with Figures 9.1-9.4, which display the general trends of cattle prices. It seems clear that the seventeenth century was a period in which cattle prices fluctuated considerably, but ultimately followed a pattern of slow but consistent increase from the second half of the century. By the 1610s, the abrupt increase of cattle prices, which had started in the late sixteenth century, had already run its course. Both the Dumfries probate quotations and the book of valuations of 1612 put the price of cattle around £10 Scots for each beast, a figure only a little below the highest quotations of the 1590s. The valuations on stolen cattle by the Privy Council also appeared to record prices, which were stationary or decreasing. Further on, examining the period between 1602 and 1634, "marts" were valued by the Comptroller of the Exchequer at £8 Scots in 1603, an amount which fell to £6 13s 8d Scots in 1609. They then rose again to £9 Scots in 1613 and settled at about £10 Scots in the period from 1616 to 1634. The St. Andrews' set of data from 1617 to 1621 also recorded similar figures and an approximate average of £11 Scots for each beef carcass.

The events of 1626, however, abruptly interrupted the aforementioned stability. A shortage of livestock in Scotland followed the sales and slaughter which had resulted after the severe famines (such as in 1622). This was coupled with an increase in English demand, which pushed the prices much higher. As will be shown in later chapters, this provoked an investigation, which has provided one of the few early pieces of statistical evidence of Scotland's economy. In summary, the magistrates responsible to record local prices suggested that the value of most

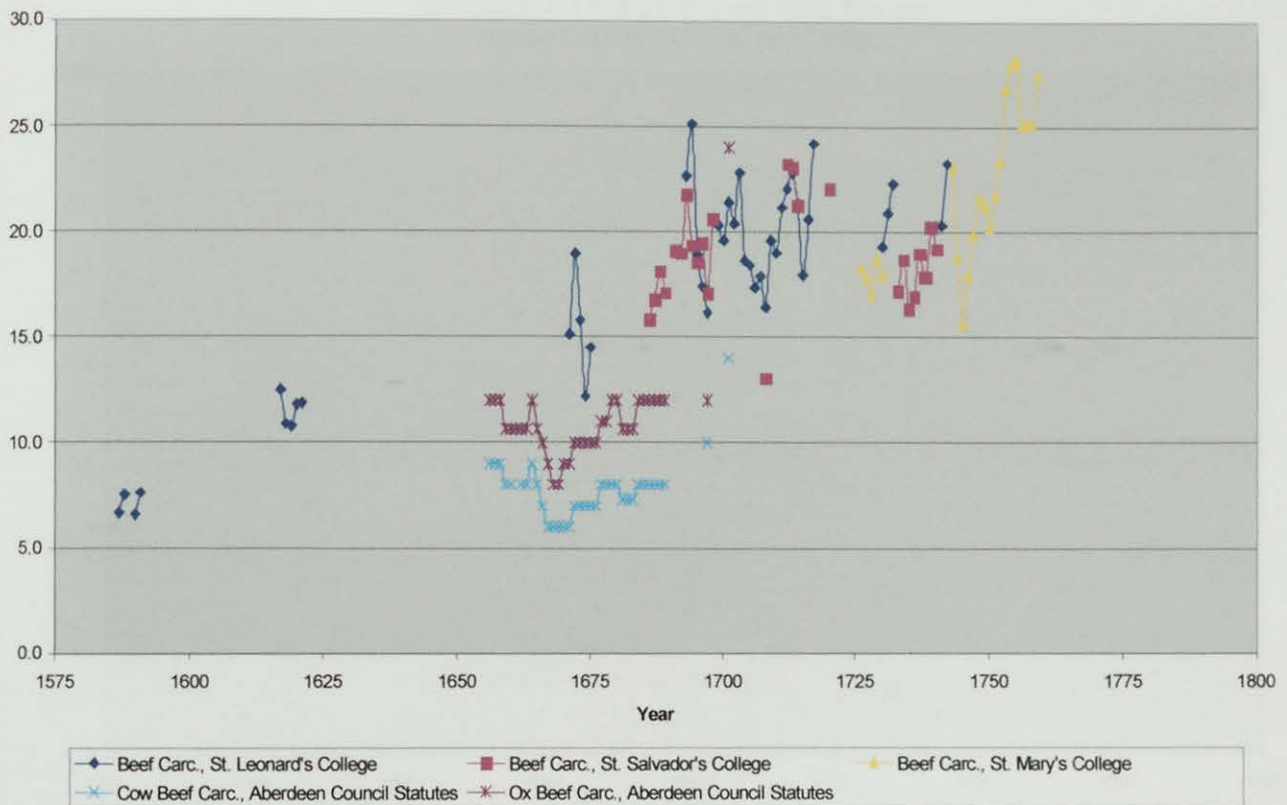
animals had risen about 33 per cent, but many of them were rather biased in their opinion. In any case, high prices such as £18 Scots for a Highland cow at Stirling were not to be viable for long. Less than a year later, in the 1627 price survey one can calculate that prices of cows and nolt on average had fallen by 20 to 25 per cent. A couple of years later, at the end of the third decade of the century, prices had fallen again in most places. Looking at the figures recorded from central authorities however, (such as the Exchequer, or the Dumfries testamentary prices) the above changes pass unnoticed. The former applied a customary £10 Scots valuation while the latter records show marginally increased prices over these years. It seems that the government was not really aware of market activity at a local level.

In the second quarter of the century, cattle prices appear to have been rather stable once more. The Dumfriesshire inventory prices modestly rose from 1638 to 1642 and English officials in 1650 put the price of “beeves” sold from the crown estates at the same figure of £10 Scots. By that period however, a war was taking place, the Borders were inaccessible and the droving trade was for once more seriously disrupted. Yet, this did not seriously affect the prices of cattle, a fact, which indicates that there was a strong demand at home as well.

After the Restoration, prices of cattle increased, although the English custom officials who estimated cattle exports to England at £18 Scots per head seem to have exaggerated. According to the Aberdeen town council statute, prices for beef carcasses in the late 1660s were down by a quarter from the levels achieved earlier in the decade. But in 1680, prices had adjusted back to the higher end, and this was followed by another modest increase in the next decade. Especially due to difficult harvest years when grain was expensive and eventual shortages of cattle (a usual occurrence, as described above, in the years following abnormally high grain prices) prices rose. From 1697 to 1701 for example, (which were years of bad harvest), the Aberdeen valuation of ox beef carcasses doubled, and English customs officials who revalued the prices of cattle exported to England again mentioned an increase, this time very considerable, from £12 to £22 Scots in just one year.

**Figure 9.1: Beef/Cow/Oxen Carcass Prices
£ Scots**

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222)



**Figure 9.2: Prices of Fresh Beef per Stone
£ Scots**

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222)

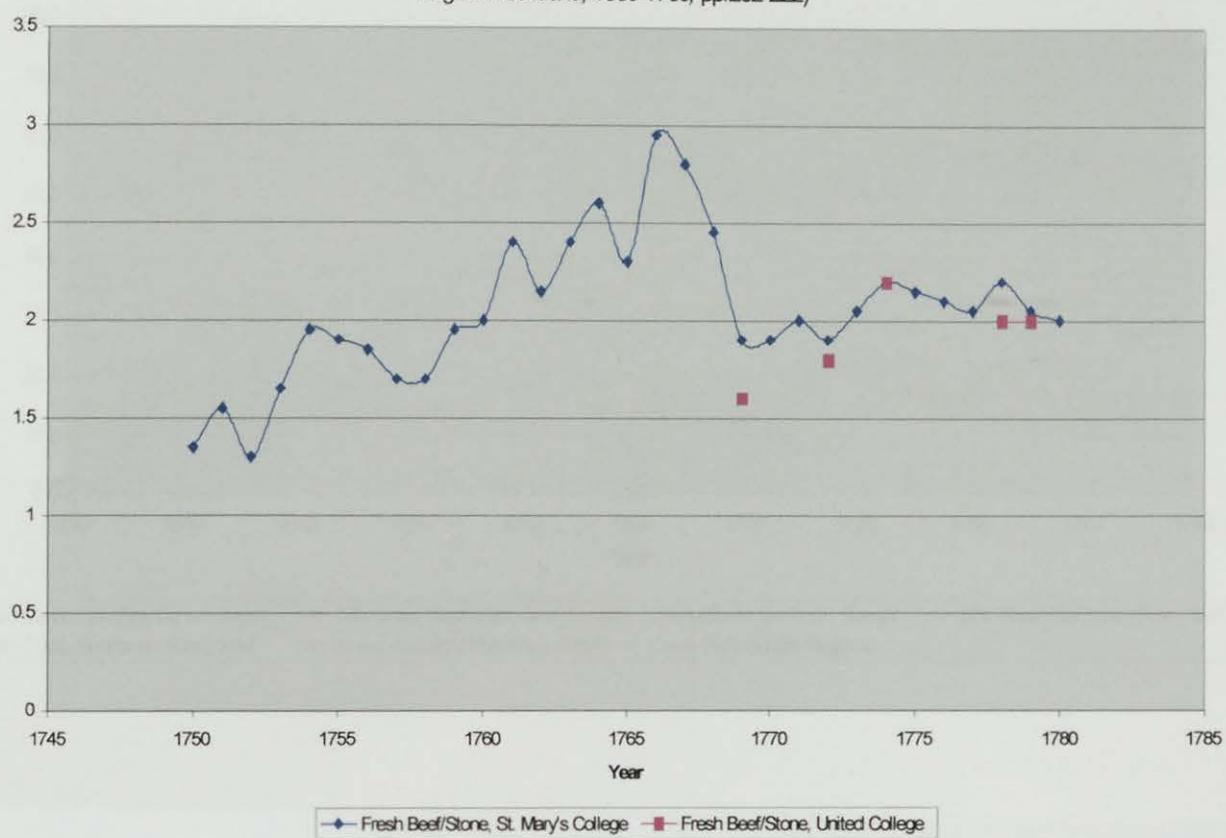
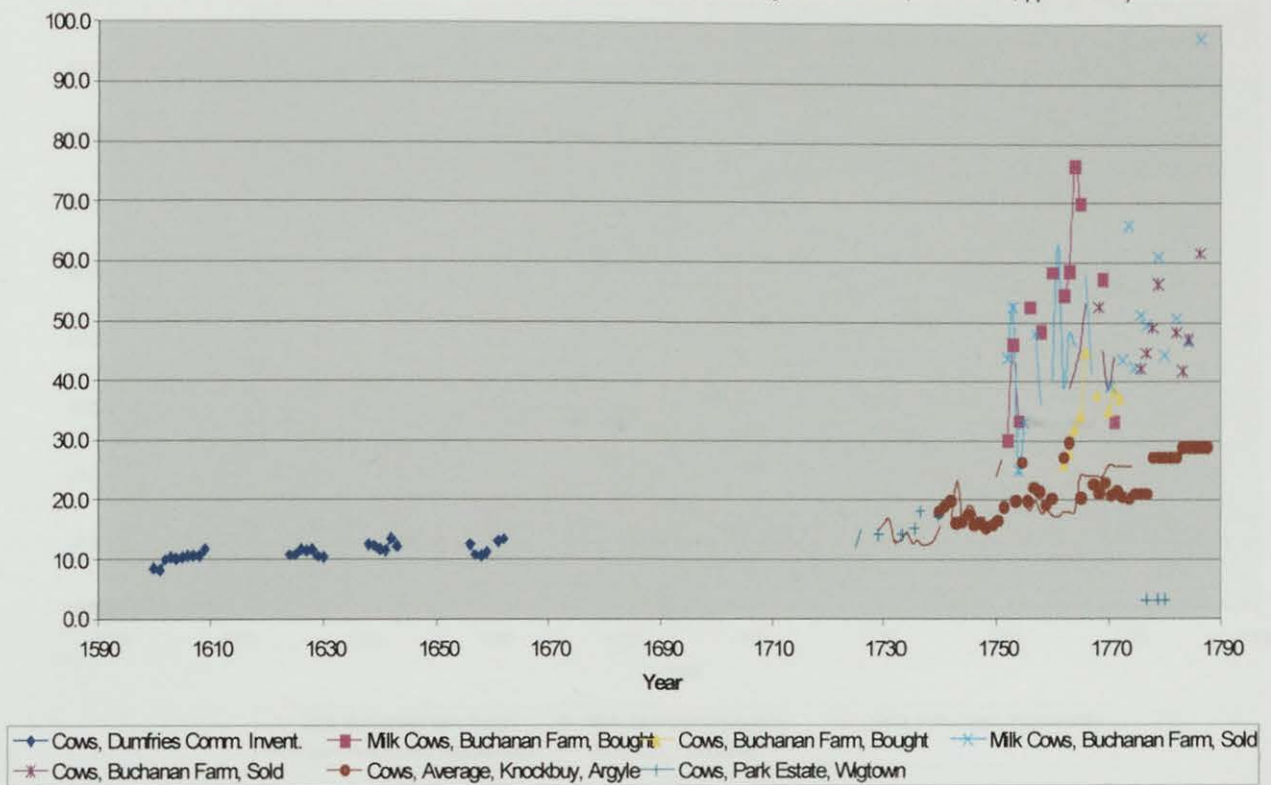


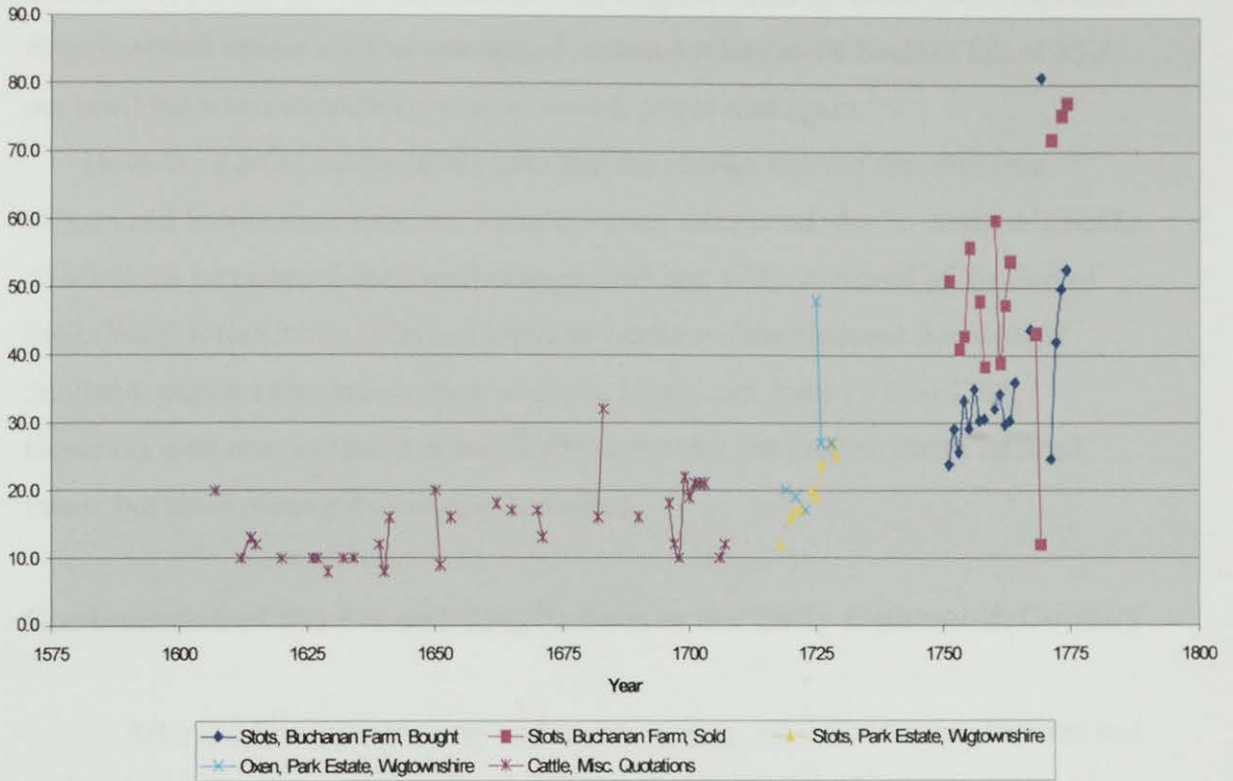
Figure 9.3: Prices of Cattle, £ Scots

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222)



**Figure 9.4: Cattle Prices (incl. Stots, Oxen, Cattle, Beasts)
£ Scots**

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222)



Fluctuation and Steady Increase of Prices (During Pre-Union Years)

In the eighteenth century, the same fluctuations and gradual rise of the cattle prices continued but again with many interruptions. The cattle industry had gradually begun to rely to the English demand and economy, whose fluctuations seriously affected the prices. In 1705 for example, the English threat to forfeit cattle exported from Scotland unless a union was agreed, reduced prices to £8 Scots (a fall of 33.3 per cent) but when restrictions were removed, prices rose again.¹

However a lot of evidence suggests that the change was not that dramatic. Gibson and Smout have only one series covering this period, the St. Andrew's books, which show just a small decrease between 1703 and 1709. A record of the Earl of Steir (Stair) found in the Gifts and Deposits section of the National Archives of Scotland, shows a less severe drop, of about 25 per cent from 1702 to 1705.² Generally a diverse picture is drawn and it seems that the English threat affected many, but some managed to escape unscathed.

Continuation of the Pre-existing Pattern in the Early Eighteenth Century

After the first quarter of the eighteenth century, all the concerns, disputes and political arguments concerning the Union must have seemed a long time away. No discernible changes in the prices of cattle had occurred. English officials at the end of the seventeenth and first years of the eighteenth century valued cattle from £12 to £20 Scots a head, and fifty years later, cattle prices ranged in similar figures, although perhaps more often than not, in the upper part of the range. The Clerk of Penicuik put the price of Scottish cattle in 1733, at £20 Scots (and also argued that

¹ Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.56-59; RPC, 2nd series, vol. II, p. 54; Ramsay, J. and A. Allardyce, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century from the mss. of John Ramsay, esq. of Ochertyre* (Edinburgh-London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1888), II, p.222; Walker, J. *An economical history of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland* (Scotland, s.n., 1808), vol. II, p.308.

² GD, 10/1307; GD, 10/1296; GD, 135/2321; GD, 6/1577; GD, 124/17/144/6; GD, 135/2743.

this was one third above what it had been twenty years earlier, an estimate which seems realistic albeit slightly exaggerated). From the St. Andrew's tables one can observe that prices fluctuated between £16 and £24 Scots, some years towards the lower end and some others towards the higher end. Prices probably had increased indeed in the span of 50 or 100 years but it was a rather slow process. The gradual change totally amounted to an increase of maximum 50-75 per cent, a figure which may seem significant initially, but considering the worried reports of politicians and contemporaries as well as the long time-span, was rather low.

Geographic Variations

The sources from the eighteenth century contain much more information than the records from previous centuries, but can still be misleading. Sometimes, they are drawn from estate records in different parts of Scotland, characterized by substantial regional differences and agricultural developments, what Malcolm Gray called "a mosaic of partly disconnected markets, with local peculiarities of breed, varying transport costs, and sometimes local non-competitive control".³

Naturally, prices varied geographically. The drovers in Skye for example paid to the lairds of Macleod a much lower price for cattle, as they had first to bear the costs of the journey to Falkirk or Crieff. On the other hand, prices paid by the St Andrew's colleges were generally higher than the Aberdeen statute prices in the period 1671-5, and again in 1686-1700, (although St Leonard's college was paying one third more for its beef in the 1690s than in the earlier 1670s).

Agricultural improvements, although more prevalent in later decades, had already begun to take their course and naturally they were distributed very unevenly throughout Scotland, and produced very varied animals. For example, at the Carskey estates in Kintyre, in Argyll there seems no upward movement of cattle prices between 1716 and 1740. But at the Park in Wigtownshire where the extremely successful Bartoon family had bred Irish beasts and had developed farms especially

³ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge England - New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.187-197.

for cattle, there was a significant rise in prices, which can be observed even in shorter periods. It is interesting to note that peasant Levellers revolted against this mass scale farming in 1724, and also claimed that the lairds were illegally importing Irish beasts and selling them in Scotland. Even English customs officials 30 years earlier had been confused many times and had slaughtered or confiscated cattle of the Park estate, although, as discussed before, an official petition from the lairds to the Privy Council had asked for the lawful importation of a selected few cattle from Ireland, for breeding purposes. In the above example, the Carskey estates were not very improved farms and were more or less representative of the majority of Scottish lands. At that time, Argyll was not generally a significantly developing region, and the Knockbuy estate there (whose transactions are recorded in the Appendix) could not compete with Wigtownshire prices. It is clear that the price changes hide an uneven distribution. In the Southwest prices steadily increased until the mid-eighteenth century but in the rest of Scotland it seems that prices remained relatively stable.

POSTSCRIPT. The Great Leap in Prices from Mid-Eighteenth Century

However, long-run stability did not characterize the second part of the eighteenth century. The Melville estates in Fife show prices clearly rising from the late 1730s and through the 1740s and early 1750s. In Knockbuy, price growth starts from the 1740s. The St Andrew's beef prices grew by one half between 1750-3 and 1760-3 and they had doubled from their initial rate, three to four years later. After reaching this peak, one can observe that figures slowly fell again but still they were much higher than the pre-1750 level.

John Ramsay of Ochtertyre who took over the management of his Stirlingshire estate around 1760 wrote of his memories on cattle prices. He recalled that the traditional price for the best Highland cows (sold if they had been fattened) was about £16 Scots, a figure which abruptly reached £21 and £24 Scots after 1747. This was also due to the cattle disease in the south of England (and perhaps the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion). The same kind of cattle were sold at £30 -£33 Scots by 1760 and five to ten years later they were selling for £40-48 Scots. He continues:

“though there were various tips and downs in the course of the next ten or twelve years, prices never fell so low as preceding 1766, nor rose as high as in that and the three following years”.⁴

The accounts from Buchanan farm in Stirlingshire also confirm his writings. A huge leap occurred around 1770 when prices reached from £40-£60 Scots to a new level of £75-£100 Scots. The Buchanan farm seems to have been rather atypical though (as the Park estate mentioned above). It was developing much faster than the rest of Scotland. The Knockbuy records (in Argyll) indicate a much smaller increase at this time, and in many parts of Scotland, prices had begun to marginally fall. Also the Buchanan high prices usually refer to stots (which were usually destined for droving and fattening) in contrast to milk cows or oxen (which had a more stable and uniform price).

According to Gray, three-year olds selling for £12 Scots, or less, in the 1740s were selling for around £18 Scots in the 1750s and this figure reached £24 Scots twenty years later. Gray's figures have been criticized for comparing animals of different ages and sizes but the pattern he describes is fairly similar to the one provided by many other sources. Adam Smith wrote in the *Wealth of Nations* that the price of Highland cattle had tripled since the early eighteenth century and this was a fair comment. In many parts of Scotland, he wrote, butcher's meat before the Union was as cheap or frequently cheaper than oatmeal bred while during his time meat cost two to three times the price of the best white bread. This increase, he continued, corresponded to a similar shift in the rents and values of Highland estates.⁵ He believed that Scotland had profited from the Union in many ways, but it was the higher cattle prices and the accompanied higher Scottish income that was the major boost to improve the country. Prices continued to increase at the end of the eighteenth century until 1830, when they reached unprecedented levels. Average cattle could sell from £20-70 Scots.

However it should be said that the increase throughout this period, so often referred to in this thesis, can be deceptive as well; cattle were sold at perhaps three-times the price than 150 years earlier, but they were frequently three-times the size as

⁴ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge England-New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.187-197.

⁵ Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, pp. 155.

well. So, in a sense the price of cattle did not change so dramatically if one calculates meat per pound figures. One can see in Figure 9.2 that fresh beef per stone figures did not display a dramatic increase. Apart from a 10-year period in the 1760-1770s when prices had doubled, in the span of 30 years from 1750 to 1780 the price increased from £1. 10s 0d to £2 Scots per stone. Figure 8.1, which illustrates the price-trends of cattle of different ages and groups, suggests that un-fattened calves, younger animals, and highland cattle (which presumably were of a more uniform size throughout this period) had a much more modest increase. Finally, it is difficult to prove which of the people in the cattle trade enjoyed significantly higher profits from the higher cattle prices. A strong case could perhaps be made again for a few specialized estates, which similarly to one century earlier, dominated the cattle trade. One might venture the further observation that the increase in the price of cattle, which accompanied the higher price of grain, was a more general characteristic of the entire period from 1660 to 1780. Higher prices encouraged more cattle breeding, more cattle meant more dung, and more dung increased the productivity of grain-producing land.

**Scottish Cattle Exports to England, 1603-
1745**

Chapter 10

From Hides and Beef to Live Animals

The Export of Hides until the Seventeenth Century: Background, Bans and Figures

Before the cattle trade reached gigantic proportions, hides constituted a major Scottish industry: the Exchequer rolls show that number of hides exported from 1378 to the early seventeenth century varied from 10,000 to 45,000 yearly.¹ Hides of cows and oxen appear in the very early custom accounts and they were comprehensively customed. Originally, the rates were 13s 4d per last, with 20 dakers in a last and each daker containing 10 hides.² This rate had quadrupled by 1368, and thereafter it remained fixed until the end of the sixteenth century. Hides were initially customed to the exact hide, but from the second half of the fifteenth century, it became increasingly common for hides to be customed to five hides (i.e. half a daker).³ Cow and ox hides were probably only dried and salted, (as opposed to being dressed, tanned, etc.) before they were exported;⁴ only rare references in the custom accounts mention salt hides.⁵ In the sixteenth century particular accounts and the early seventeenth century book of rates, salt and dry hides, were considered one and the same, and paid the same custom rate.⁶

The circumstances surrounding the trade of hides before the seventeenth

¹ Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.6-8; Houston, R. A. and I. Whyte, *Scottish society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.64; Scotland, *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland 1264-1600*. (Edinburgh, 23 vols., 1878-1908),II, xc.

² Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597* (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2001), pp.150-153.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Ibidem.

century resemble the situation of the cattle industry in the first part of the seventeenth century; a lot of concern, discussions and policies centered around the debate of free trade vs. protectionism. At about 1486, the Parliament, in what would be a recurrent policy in the future, banned the export of salted, dried, or barked hides for two years.⁷ Hide customs fell by two-thirds during the ban, but returned to previous levels once the ban ended. It seems, however, that favoured merchants, or those who purchased a license, were able to contravene the ban, hence around 500 dakers had been customed per year (accounting for the remaining third) and must have been legal exports. The Crown abandoned the policy for a long period of time before repeating it again at mid sixteenth century when the Privy Council stated (in 1561) that the export of ox and cow hides had created a shortage of barked leather.⁸ The prices of boots, shoes, and other items made from leather had risen significantly, and the poor, servants and laborers were to be “utterly depauperat”. For this reason it was decreed, that for three years starting from February 1562, the export of hides by land or sea should be banned. Searchers were ordered to enforce the ban and customars to not accept any hides.⁹ The act, however, seems to have failed and was annulled just before the end of the statutory period. Craftsmen it was said, had conspired to keep the price of barked leather high, while merchants continued to gather, salt, and store hides in anticipation of the ending of the ban. Hides again continued to be exported as merchants had obtained licenses allowing them to export small quantities of hides, but exported far more than their allowed quota.¹⁰

Between October 1582 and October 1589, the customs of the realm were leased, and one of the conditions of the lease was that no new export bans should be imposed during its course.¹¹ Yet, a petition to the king in 1589 by the convention of royal burghs, requests that the restraint on hides exports be repealed because it did harm to the merchants of the realm.¹² So, some sort of ban had been enforced again, one that no surviving records can confirm; there are only a few surviving particular accounts for the period of the lease, and these are ambiguous about the existence of a

⁷ Ibidem.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ RPC., I, pp. 191-2.

¹⁰ RPC., I, p. 285.

¹¹ Rorke, *Scottish Overseas Trade*, pp.150-153.

¹² Ibidem.

ban. Ayr in 1584 and Montrose in 1586 include hides as usual,¹³ while Aberdeen's accounts between October 1582 and October 1584 do not contain any hides.¹⁴

Perhaps the petition refers to a commission, which was to be established in 1581 to consider the export of hides and shoes, but no sources reveal what was the outcome of the committee. Yet, most burghs continued to custom hides according to custom accounts rendered in 1590. As with the cattle trade a few decades later, the Privy Council's policies to protect the industry were only ordered for the short-term, they were not obeyed universally and did not seem to yield particularly positive results.

Figure 10.1 illustrates the volume of exports from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.¹⁵

The Export of Hides in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

In the early seventeenth century, the trade of hides seemed to continue uninterrupted, although the development of the cattle trade was already reaching large proportions and it must have been more profitable for many merchants and landowners to start trading in live animals instead. The majority of hides were still listed as hides, dry hides and/or salt hides, and specific types were categorized as hart, kye, nolt and horse hides. The export of the hides of 'all uther greate beasts' remained free until the late 1620s. Since the 1610s however, petitions and complaints from the Royal burghs claimed that the frequent export of Scottish hides was to the detriment of the poor as well as of the commonweal. They argued as they had done in the previous century, that the scarcity of hides available within Scotland led to the scarcity of leather and therefore of necessities such as shoes and boots. At the same time, as will be seen in later chapters, the already rising by then cattle exports were attributed for the high prices and scarcity of animals for the plough. This pressure, in combination with a series of bad winters, which seriously damaged livestock, culminated to the prohibition of further exports of hides from December 1626, unless a special license had first been obtained.¹⁶ As James VI recognized, hides were 'one

¹³ NAS, E.71/3/5, ff. 2-2v.; 21/2, f. 2.

¹⁴ NAS, E.71/1/9-10.

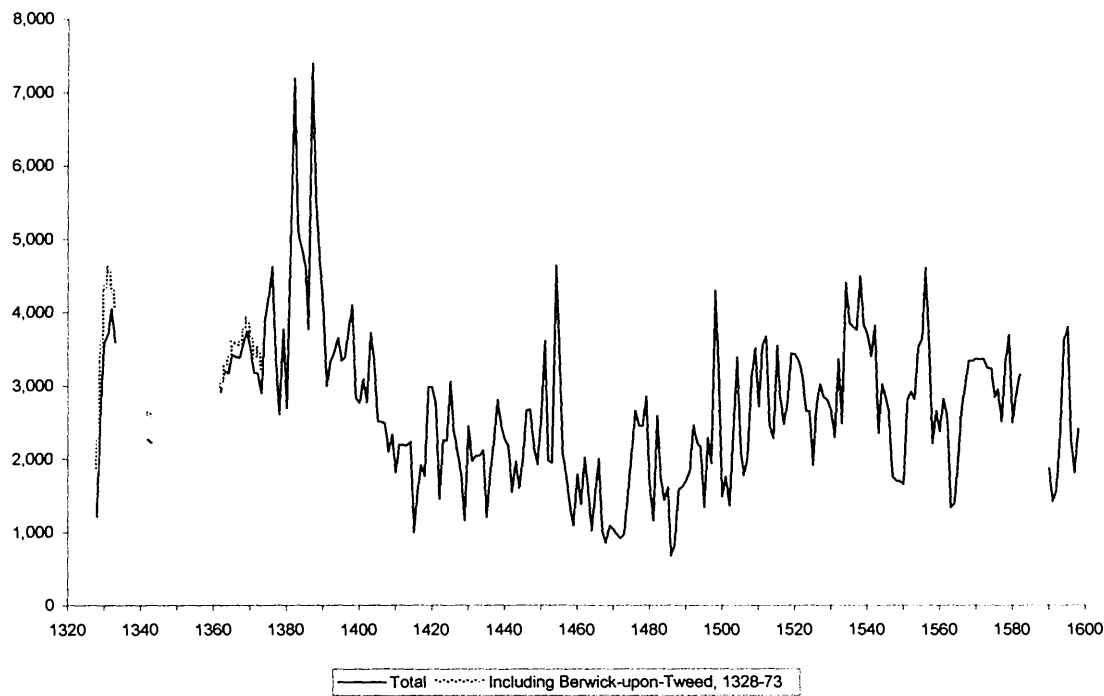
¹⁵ Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade*, pp.641.

¹⁶ Watson, J., *Scottish Overseas Trade 1597-1645* (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2004); RPC, 2nd series, vol. 1, p. 478.

of the gritest commodities wherwith thay do trafficque, and by bartering quhairof
thay haif foreyne wairis affordit unto thame'.¹⁷

Figure 10.1: Scottish Hides Exports, 1328-1598
In dakers

(from Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade*, pp.641.)



¹⁷ Watson, *Scottish Overseas Trade*; RPC, 1st series, vol. 8, p. 550.

Hides by the seventeenth century were customed in dakers of ten hides and in lasts of twenty dakers or 200 hides. The enrolled accounts show that duty payable on unspecified types of hides, dry and salt hides, hart and “kye” hides increased from £0.13 Scots per daker payable between 1597 and 1612 to £0.50 Scots per daker payable thereafter.¹⁸ It was from Leith that the largest quantities were exported. Outgoing hides peaked at over 2,000 dakers in 1597/98 and again in 1618/19, before stabilizing over 2,500 dakers per annum over the late 1620s and early 1630s. In the early 1610s, hides were exported from Leith primarily to Flanders and northern France, with lesser quantities going to Rotterdam, England and southern France.¹⁹ Fewer shipments were destined for France by the 1620s. The trade had shifted to the Scottish staple at Veere and to the Baltic port of Königsberg. The volume of hides exported from each of the other jurisdictions was minimal in comparison to the volume exported from Leith.²⁰ Yet, in comparison to the value of exported live cattle, the trade in hides does not seem very significant by that period. A daker of hides and a live animal had a similar value and custom rate at the early seventeenth century. But the quantity of the former exports ranged around 2,000 to 2,500, while cattle exports to England around the mid-seventeenth century ranged from 20,000 to 30,000.

The Trade in Flesh/Beef

Flesh in the form of salted beef or venison was also exported from Scotland, transported in barrels rather than in fresh carcasses.²¹ The duty levied on beef, venison and other types of meat was £0.10 Scots per barrel from 1597 until 1611,²² and thereafter £0.50 Scots per barrel.²³ The purchase of a license from the Crown was required in order to legally export the product, as fear of shortages of meat and

¹⁸ These rates of duty conformed to the 1597 and 1612 Books of Rates.

¹⁹ Watson, *Scottish Overseas Trade*; NAS, E71/29/6.

²⁰ Watson, *Scottish Overseas Trade*.

²¹ Watson, *Scottish Overseas Trade*; NAS, E76/2.

²² NAS, E38 series, E76/1/1.

²³ NAS, E38 series, E76/2, E76/3. From 1611, beef was valued at £10 per barrel and £10 per carcass (Scots).

grain were again the reason behind prohibitions of the trade.²⁴ Legal exports of meat are recorded as having taken place from ports as far north as Caithness. Indeed, it was the ports located north of the river Spey that were predominant in the trade, although lesser quantities were being regularly sent overseas from Leith and sporadically from West Fife and the East Neuk. Yet, there were over four-times the volume of meat transported directly overseas from the northernmost jurisdiction than was transported from Leith. In addition, a proportion of the flesh exported from Leith had probably been initially shipped southwards from Orkney, Caithness and Shetland.²⁵ Official figures and estimates usually underestimate the true volume of flesh exports. Smuggling in the form of claiming flesh as provisions of the ships' voyages was one of the many illegal ways of exporting flesh, and flesh exports in the customs accounts are probably under-recorded.²⁶

Yet again, exported beef in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries did not constitute a competitive industry or a large-scale alternative to the trade of live animals across the borders. A few hundred barrels were exported every year amounting to a value which could account for less than 1-2 per cent of the total value of exported live animals a couple of decades later.

The Background of the Cattle Trade: Pre-Seventeenth Century

Moreover, hides and flesh steadily declined after the sixteenth century. Exported hides only accounted to a few hundreds by the end of the seventeenth century.²⁷ Scotland did not have the technology to export beef in reasonable quality and the salt duties imposed did not improve the situation. Further, as English demand expanded, it was far more profitable to abandon the trade in hides and skins and begin trading live cattle across the border. Some astute politicians tried to insert bounties in the Union treaty for the export of Scottish provisions, fearing that unless they could sell salted beef with profit, London would force them to sell cattle at whatever price the latter wished to give. This happened to some extent and in essence

²⁴ NAS, E76/3.

²⁵ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, p. 225.

²⁶ Rorke, *Scottish Overseas Trade*, pp. 257-58.

²⁷ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish society*, p.64.

England became a monopsonist. By 1700, linen goods and live cattle were the products on which Scotland relied for her export trade to England according to Smout's estimations, in contrast to 1614 when hides and skins were the main exports.²⁸

The story of the cattle trade therefore probably begins to take substantial proportions in the seventeenth century. Before the Union of Crowns, in the midst of successive wars and medieval warfare, it was difficult for Scottish dealers to trade live cattle across the border. The Scottish government did not encourage such practices, fearing that shortages would occur in Scotland, a fear which remained prominent until the seventeenth century. The concerns were not unreasonable. Fife and Stirling many times were left with no supplies for their tanning industries and in 1615 a crisis in meat took place.²⁹ But even if drovers disregarded political and legal issues, they had to cross the buffer zone of the borders, which was a dangerous and risky undertaking.

This does not imply that cattle trade did not exist at all. Although internal policy regarding the cattle trade was inconsistent, unstable, and lacking a national perspective, some droving took place. There is evidence for cattle sales from 1359, when a letter of safe conduct was granted to two drovers, three servants and horsemen travelling through England with horses, oxen, cows and goods for sale.³⁰ Ten years later, the Scottish Parliament allowed sales of cattle to Englishmen and fixed the custom duties on beasts leaving the country. Yet, in the span of almost 60 years, from 1291 to 1348, only three safe conducts were given, and these were granted to English merchants.³¹ After that, the Parliament changed its policy probably in an attempt to meet the crushing ransom required by Edward II for releasing David II who had been taken prisoner eleven years earlier.³²

In 1451, the Scottish parliament prohibited trade with England (except in cash) and during the famines of 1480, restrictions were levied on foreign merchants and

²⁸ Smout, T. C., *Scottish trade on the eve of union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963), p.264.

²⁹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.15-17; RPC, 2nd series, vol. I, p.684.

³⁰ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.9-11.

³¹ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.9-11; A P S, I, pp.508, 547.

³² Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.9-11.

the cattle trade was again prohibited.³³ But many complaints have been found in the primary sources on illegal droving and the loss of custom duties which resulted from this.³⁴ The Scottish government occasionally imposed additional restrictions in an effort to reduce the extent of the livestock trade, and prohibited the exports of sheep, the consumption of meat (unless one was sick) etc. But despite all this, complaints about an illegal cattle trade did not cease. During the late sixteenth century, three successive acts were passed in the Scottish Parliament (in 1581, 1587, and 1592) prohibiting droving.³⁵ This suggests that illegal cattle trading was taking place.

In the meanwhile, an internal cattle trade was a respectable business. Many references to an extensive early cattle trade in the sixteenth century have been found in primary sources. The Isle of Skye sent beasts to the mainland. Argyll drovers traded in the Lowlands, and as a 1556 entry from the Privy Council indicates, Highland drovers disturbed order in Lowland markets.³⁶ The Privy Council had already started levying tolls for droving even though the expertise of a successful drover consisted of managing to avoid tolls, as many complains in the Privy Council records suggest.

As discussed above, it is difficult to make an accurate estimation of the extent of the cattle trade by examining tolls, even if references to a substantial number of the latter have been found and summarized. There are very few records concerning the actual traffic on roads and bridges, especially for the early period of the trade, and it is unclear what percentage of drovers used these passages in the first place.

Generally, before 1603, the traffic across the border was irregular and probably affected by the two-way movement of cattle by raiding and theft. Three centuries of intermittent warfare followed the Wars of Independence after the thirteenth century, and although some cattle trade was taking place, it was in the seventeenth century that the latter reached substantial proportions. Livestock production had by then expanded to meet the home demands and the fear of shortages was gradually fading

³³ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.12-14; *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. II, pp.40, 424.

³⁴ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.12-4.

³⁵ Whyte, I., *Agriculture and society in seventeenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1979), p.236.

³⁶ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.12-14; RPC, 1st series, vol. I, pp.470-471.

away. It is with English exports that the story of cattle industry took off and the chapters in the next section analyze that aspect of the trade.

Chapter 11

The English Demand

Background, Estimates and Exports to England

England was the main market for Scottish cattle. It was mainly Englishmen who bought Scottish cattle at the trysts, and animals had to be transported to Yorkshire, Norfolk or to the rich pastures of East Anglia. Until the Act of Union, cattle had to pass through the custom posts at Kirk of Graithay (Gretna), and later Dumfries, Castleton or Alisonbank on the Western Border, Jedburgh or Kelso in the Middle Border, and Ayton or Duns in the Eastern Marches.¹ The custom books as discussed in the next chapter, provide a wealth of information on the exports of cattle. The Alisonbank precinct was also called South Borders or Suronne and comprised the border parishes of Gretna, Canonbie, Castleton. The latter became a separate precinct from 1688 and a third West March excise point (after Dumfries).² The Ayton & Duns precinct included Eyemouth and Ladykirk. From 1682 to 1684 Ayton & Duns shared a joint account with Kelso precinct in the Middle March.³ The Dumfries precinct along with Alisonbank, and later Castleton, comprised the western excise points. Dumfries after 1660 included Kirkcudbright as well. The Kelso precinct in the Middle March included Coldstream and Yetholm.⁴

English custom records also provide a wealth of information on cattle movement across the borders but many do not apply after 1669, when duties were abolished.⁵ And naturally there are no Scottish custom-duties records after the Act of Union. The available sources also do not allow for an examination of the cattle trade in years when exports to England were banned, yet illegal traffic was frequently reported to have taken place. Excluding the Scottish port-books and the English

¹ Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), pp.15-17.

² Scottish Record Office, *Guide to the National Archives of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp.76-79.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, p.16; Millett, S. M., *Git along ye bonnie dogies! : the Scottish cattle droves and the western cattle drives* (Columbus Ohio: Scottish Lore Press, 1988), pp.10-12.

ledgers, which provide export figures for particular years, the evidence concerning the movement of cattle to England in the remaining periods is scattered (see Figure 11.1). From November 1617 to November 1618, 5,641 cattle were said to have crossed into Cumberland through the Western March (which generally accounted for the majority of the total cattle exported).⁶ But in 1655-6, the Alisonbank custom duties record only 1,050 Scottish cattle (and 6,000 sheep). A couple of years later, 18,364 Scottish cattle were reported to have paid custom at Carlisle. 80,000 cattle were estimated to cross England in total in that period, but this exaggerated estimate was probably a piece of parliamentary rhetoric in the House of Commons in 1663.⁷ Moreover, in 1664, 30,962 cattle were stationed in Carlisle and 16,932 in Berwick.⁸ Devine writes that in 1660, 20,000 to 30,000 cattle were exported from Scotland in total, but a primary source writes that 48,000 beasts crossed the borders. And in 1662, 18,574 cattle left Carlisle for England according to tax records (which also mention a toll of 8d a head).⁹

⁶ Whyte, I., *Agriculture and society in seventeenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1979), p.236.

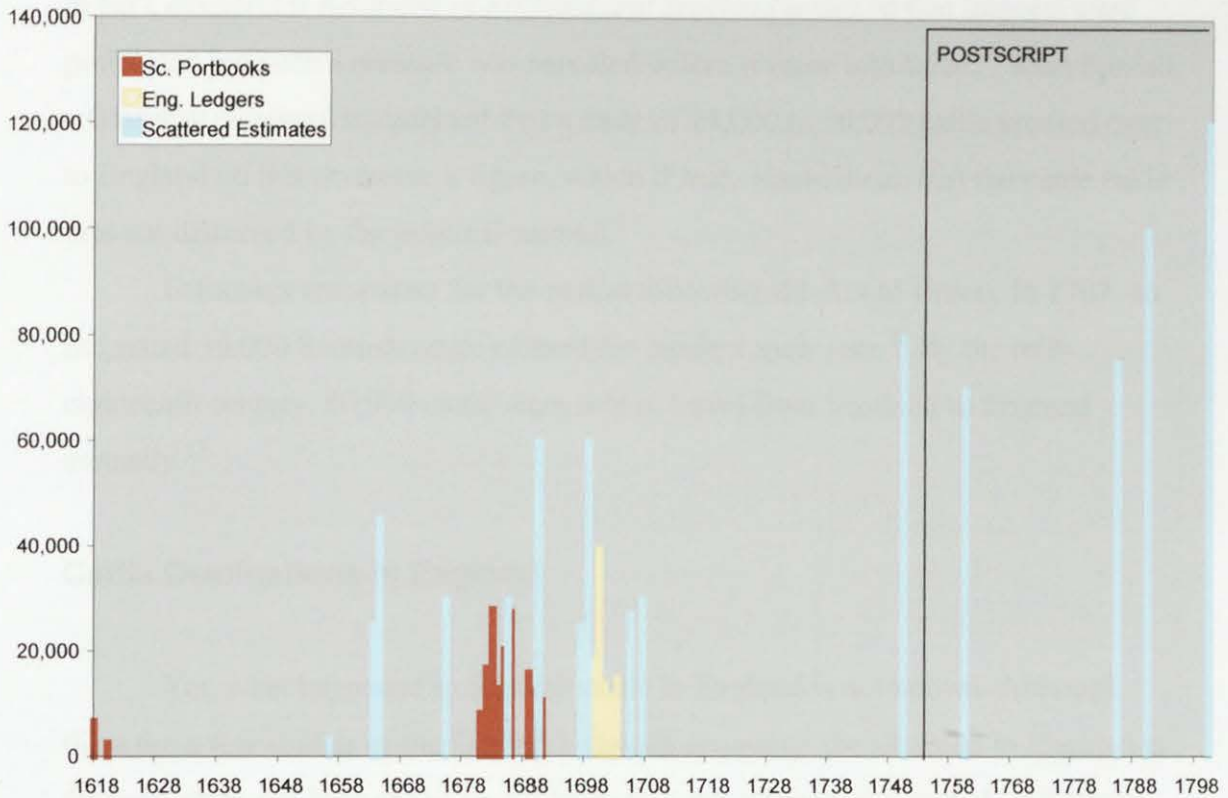
⁷ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century" in Cullen, L. M. and T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), pp.149-151.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Devine, T. M., D. Dickson, et al., *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1983), pp. 252-254; Houston, R. A. and I. Whyte, *Scottish society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge - New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.64; Lenman, B., *An economic history of modern Scotland, 1660-1976* (London: Batsford, 1977), p. 23; Lythe, S. G. E. and J. Butt, *An economic history of Scotland, 1100-1939* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975), p.56; Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.173-174.

Figure 11.1: Estimates Scottish Cattle Exports, 1618-1800

(from E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691); RH4/15/1-4 English Ledgers 1696-1707); main section.)



In 1696-1697, the Alisonbank tax books record 13,361 cattle and the Jedburgh books only 484 (the Middle March was generally not a popular route).¹⁰ By 1690, up to 60,000 animals were estimated to travel to England and at the end of the century 60,000 cattle followed the Carlisle route alone.¹¹ Pococke, in a 1760 letter, said that in 1675 about 20,000 to 30,000 cattle went sent south each year from Galloway but both the Scottish port-books and English ledgers suggest that this figure was closer to the total cattle exports of Scotland.¹² During the pre-Union years,

¹⁰ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp.152-154.

¹¹ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish society*, p.64; Lenman, *An economic history of modern Scotland*, p. 23; Lythe and Butt, *An economic history of Scotland*, p.56; Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.173-174.

¹² Whyte, *Agriculture and society*, p.240.

English valuations estimated that cattle earned Scotland about £460,000 annually, the figure probably referring to Scots money.¹³ In 1704 and 1706 however (there are no records for 1705) not a single cow is mentioned in the English custom duties. Keith in his *Commercial Relations of England and Scotland* assumed that imports were prohibited but such a measure was repealed before it came into force.¹⁴ John Spreull, a Glasgow merchant maintained that a trade of 24,000 to 30,000 cattle crossed over to England on this occasion, a figure, which if true, would mean that the cattle trade was not disturbed by the political turmoil.¹⁵

Estimates are sparser for the period following the Act of Union. In 1707, an estimated 30,000 Scottish cattle crossed the borders each year.¹⁶ By the mid-eighteenth century, 80,000 cattle were said to travel from Scotland to England annually.¹⁷

Cattle Destinations in England

Yet, what happened to Scottish cattle in England is not known. Although there are a few studies of the English livestock economy, the situation in England is far from clear and indications on cattle rearing and selling are sparse. It is difficult moreover to infer how many Scottish cattle would be destined for London (the principal market for Scottish beasts), the growing industrial cities in the North, the navy's provisions, or for being fattened in various areas for the next year.¹⁸

According to John Houghton, London in 1692 consumed 88,400 cattle yearly.¹⁹ Nathaniel Kent put the number of bullocks sent from Norfolk to London at 20,000 per annum in the late seventeenth century, adding that three-quarters of which were Scottish cattle. But the number of cattle sold at Smithfield alone for the London market was between 75,000-80,000 and a substantial proportion of these came from

¹³ Smout, T. C., *Scottish trade on the eve of union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963), p.213.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp. 152-154.

¹⁶ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.168-170.

¹⁷ Lythe and Butt, *An economic history of Scotland*, pp.15-17; Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.204-206.

¹⁸ It should be noted that all the following estimates have been collected in Table 3 for convenience.

¹⁹ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp.152-154.

Norfolk.²⁰ Another contemporary reported how Norfolk graziers visited Norwich to buy Scotch runts. St. Faith, which is about four miles north of Norwich, was a centre for such activities as well, so it appears that transactions were taking place around the general region and not at just one prearranged local fair.²¹ 30,000 Scottish cattle each year were fattened there by another contemporary's estimate, an amount, which seems exaggerated.²² In a later section, it is concluded that a similar figure was exported from Scotland every year during the same period, and it is logical to assume that there would be demand from northern English graziers or other businessmen and landowners. However, it is not clear whether the above estimate is indeed exaggerated or that the vast majority of the cattle exported were indeed destined for Norwich. Yet, perhaps Nathaniel Kent's number mentioned above (15,000) is a more realistic estimate of Scottish cattle there.

Daniel Defoe in 1710 also wrote about Scottish cattle which he said were much preferred over English ones, as Scottish cattle could fatten enormously under the right conditions and could provide beef of both quantity and quality.²³ In 1732, the number of cattle sold each year at the Smithfield market alone amounted to 76,000 but it is unclear what proportion of these were Scottish cattle. Indeed it was believed by some that Scottish cattle were de-horned and tied with tow and tar to pass off as polled English (or Aberdeenshire?) cattle. If this statement is true, accurate estimates are even more difficult to make.²⁴

Welsh and Local Competition for English Demand

To determine the Scottish supply of cattle one has inevitably to determine the English demand as well and how the latter was provisioned with Irish, English and Welsh animals. The Irish trade is directly related to local Scottish imports, and is discussed in a subsequent section. The Welsh case is vague: it is clear that England

²⁰ Houston and Whyte, *Scottish society*, p.64; Lenman, *An economic history of modern Scotland*, p. 23; Lythe and Butt, *An economic history of Scotland*, p.56; Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.173-174.

²¹ Murray, W. H., *Rob Roy MacGregor : his life and times* (Glasgow: R. Drew Pub. 1982), pp.135.

²² Ibidem.

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Corrie, J. M., *The "droving days" in the south-western district of Scotland* (Dumfries: J. Maxwell, 1915), pp.113-115.

imported cattle from South Wales, early citations however, on such activities are made sparingly in the literature, so there is little information about the extent or the pattern of trade. Early references, however, suggest that, from 1638 onwards, nearly 3,000 cattle were transported annually by drovers from Anglesey.²⁵

²⁵ Moore-Colyer, R. J., *Welsh Cattle Drovers : Agriculture and the Welsh Cattle Trade Before and During the Nineteenth Century.*, pp. 77-79.

Chapter 12

Scottish Exports to England, 1610-1691: The Scottish Port-books

The Early Seventeenth Century

For the years immediately following the pacification of the Borders, from 1610 to 1629, the custom duties from the Scottish port-books provide scattered evidence about the value of total exports. As mentioned before, inferring export values from the extracted duty rates is not a reliable process, but in the absence of other evidence, such figures have to be used. From 1610 to 1619 total exports amounted to £149,061 Scots each year, (based on the fixed percentages of custom rates), and from 1625 to 1629, the figure was in the order of £167,992 Scots. Overland exports to England in the first period constituted 33 per cent of total exports. In the latter period, however, it amounted to only 18 per cent. More than half of those figures seems to have been cattle exports. Exports numbered 6,761 beasts in the period 1618/9 and 2,511 in 1620/1.¹ But, as is examined later on, during the early seventeenth century, livestock exports were frequently banned due to shortages and crises at home. The fact that trade had grown even in the presence of such bans during the span of the two export figures above implies a growing economy. It is true that sea-born trade expanded considerably during the first part of the seventeenth century and gradually its value more than doubled from 1600 to 1630. It is interesting to observe that the scattered estimates of the cattle trade in that

¹ Watson, J. C., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1597-1645* (unpublished Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 2004).

period suggest that cattle export values constituted around 20-25 per cent of the total exports.

Scottish Cattle Exports to England Banned (1615, 1626-1627, 1646)

The story of the first half of the seventeenth century revolves around the central debate of protectionism versus free trade. The Privy Council tried to balance its policies by a laissez-faire approach interrupted by numerous years of export bans and prohibitions. Soon after the Union of Crowns, in 1605, the Privy Council made clear that cattle and sheep would be excepted from free trade between the kingdoms of the Union, along with wool sheep, sheep skins, leather, hides, and linen yarn, basically the majority of livestock and animals products. Although in the act, many free trade policies were discussed (i.e. mutual naturalization of company partners, effectively allowing English merchants in Scottish companies and vice versa), free trade was far from being a reality.²

The lords of the Council intervened again ten years later, in 1615, when frost and a harsh winter tested the country's resources. Exports of livestock were forbidden for a few months in March. The order was revoked for cattle however in April of the same year. This was too soon for it to have an effect. Interestingly, the export of sheep as well as other goods remained forbidden.³ The Council did not renew the prohibition of transport of nolt and sheep in the next year (although it did order a continued universal forbearance of the slaughter of lambs, and referred to the good effects of the policy the previous year).⁴

It was almost another ten years, in 1626, when great concerns were raised for once more about the scarcity of cattle. Poor laborers, the lords of the Privy Council wrote, could not find cattle to buy, and when they did, the price was too high. Farmers could not get beasts to labor the ground and the future breeding of livestock in Scotland looked uncertain due to the excessive exports by a number of few large-scale exporters. It is in 1626 and 1627 when most of the discussions, concerns and suggestions over the future of free trade and the livestock economy took place (as

² RPC, 1st series, vol.7, p.56.

³ RPC, 1st series, vol.10, p.321,323.

⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.10, p.lxxi.

discussed in more detail later on). A prohibition of cattle exports was enforced in 1626 from January to August, and a later order extended it for the purpose of breeding more animals and lowering prices for a “certain space of time”. Later, the Lords of the council defined that period as until next May (of 1627) while at the same time they forbade droving of livestock, a policy which solved the inherent problems of deciding whether arrested drovers were destined towards England, or heading for better pasture lands.⁵

During that time, a commission was nominated for enforcing the prohibitions, and the lords of the Council appointed more than 20 noble men to recruit others and guard for illegal droving and selling of cattle. Illegal livestock would be confiscated and the beasts would be sold at competent prices to local markets, with the revenues of those sales given back to the Privy Council.⁶ The great discussion on the subject of livestock prices had already begun and one can read many letters, missives, petitions and consultations in the Privy Council records arguing for the formation of a consistent economic policy.⁷ Most of the writers (such as Sir John Wemyss who represented the justices of Fifeshire, or the writer representing Stirlingshire) shared strongly the protectionist feeling of many others, while the Council appeared to be more impartial, and waited to hear the available opinions and evidence.⁸ The restraint on the exportation of cattle, sheep and wool was again continued by a new order until the 12th of October 1627, and again extended until the 24th of December.⁹ The expected results of the Privy Council’s survey on local prices were disappointingly vague, delayed and incomplete and it seems that after the aforementioned successive renewals, the Privy Council abandoned the idea of protectionism for another 20 years.

It is in 1646, when one of the last attempts of the council to interfere takes place, with a new proclamation forbidding the exports of cattle. The reasoning again was not different; restrain of excessive exports was needed, and copies of the

⁵ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, pp.300. 383-385.

⁶ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, pp.383-385.

⁷ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, pp.276-80.

⁸ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.684.

⁹ RPC, 2nd series, vol.2, pp.73, 90-91.

proclamation were to be put at the market crosses of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumfries, Jedburgh and other places.¹⁰

The Crisis of 1625-1627: Protectionism, Survey of Prices, Arguments and Discussions

The Debate; King, Privy, Lairds and Local Authorities. As mentioned above, from 1625 to 1628 a great debate arose about whether trade should be left to develop freely or whether some form of government intervention was more appropriate. More specifically, the matter revolved around both aspects of external trade: Scottish exports of wool, livestock and coal, as well as imports of various goods and supplies into the Scottish region. As expected, there was a difference of opinion between parties that represented social groups with conflicting interests. The general population, for example, demanded exports to be banned and imports to be left unregulated, in order for the price of goods available to them in the local markets to be kept low. On the other hand, the part of the population that enjoyed revenues from the sale of goods that were to be exported, such as big land owners, supported unregulated exports of their goods and a ban on imports, in order to keep prices as high as possible.

The question on trade regulations was originally discussed during the Convention of Estates in the autumn of 1625 but no decision was reached at the time, so the matter was referred to a later discussion in the following winter. However, this meeting never took place at the predefined time due to the ongoing developments in the revision of the constitution, so during the meeting of the reconstructed Council in the early spring of 1626, the discussion about trading policy was postponed until later in the spring of 1626. When the meeting finally took place, there were twenty three lords and nobles-members of the Council present. These included six lords and nobles unrelated to the Council, administrative representatives of fourteen Shires, the corresponding representatives of all the “Burghs”, as well as two delegates of the king, who in fact formulated the issues to be discussed during

¹⁰ RPC, 2nd series, vol.8, pp.59-60.

the meeting.¹¹ More specifically, the royal delegates conveyed the king's interest in passing judgement on a trade proposal submitted by the burgh of Edinburgh on behalf of all the burghs. The goal of the proposal was the ban of all exports of grain, wool, livestock and coal and an unconditional permission of foreign imports into Scotland, for an indefinite period of time.

Initially the king had viewed both aspects of the proposal favourably. This is revealed in a letter dated a few months earlier that year; however, in a letter dated in the early spring of 1626, the king appeared to have reconsidered his assessment and to be ambivalent concerning the consequences of either banned exports or free imports. The Burgh representatives were displeased with this development that favored the position of the landowning lords and nobles, so the Council had to act as a mediator between the two conflicting parties, which engaged in heated arguments. Finally, the Burgh representatives realizing that a more flexible attitude would serve their interests better, claimed that the Edinburgh burgesses did not fully represent them and that they were in fact willing to re-examine the trade proposals.

After extensive negotiations, the Council reached the decision that there was no conclusive evidence as to which of the suggested strategies in the trade of wool and livestock (i.e. cattle and sheep) was, overall, the most profitable and productive. Accordingly, the discussion of the matter was postponed until more evidence had been made available to the Council. In particular, it was decided that, before the end of summer each year, every Justice of Peace in all shires was to make available to the Council an annual revenue statement of the wool and livestock markets that pertained to their respective areas. The Council intended to examine these annual revenue statements along with wool market statistics that were already being collected by the Council for the previous twelve years, from the Edinburgh and other markets. The goal was to identify the exact policies that would benefit the most the corresponding market, and whether these policies would be in the form of export restrictions or import taxation.

The king gave his conditional approval later that summer. He clearly expressed his dissatisfaction that the Council was not giving his interests due attention. In the meantime, the Council had received a number of grievances from

¹¹ RPC, 2nd Series, vol. 1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, 275-280.

several locations throughout the country concerning a shortage of cattle, which had resulted in unusually high prices; prices were so high that farm workers were unable to purchase cattle for their own use. It was suggested that the reason behind the nationwide shortage was the extravagant volumes of cattle that were either exported or were reserved for exportation by local merchants. Following those complaints, the Council decided to ban all cattle exports until the end of summer, and the ban was announced along with the direction to the Justices of Peace to send the annual wool, sheep and cattle market revenue reports to the Council.¹² Having examined the information contained in these reports, the Council was to decide whether the export ban would continue or not.

The Survey Reports. Missives were repeatedly sent from the Privy Council to the justices of peace within the sheriffdoms of Edinburgh, Haddington, Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark, Dumfries, Linlithgow, Stirling, Ayr, Renfrew, Fife, Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, and Aberdeen asking for information on the local economy.¹³ As quoted by Gibson and Smout in a previous section, the results were incomplete and unsatisfactory. However, although the Justices of Peace of the specific areas rarely provided reliable or specific figures, when they did provide an opinion, they seemed to be in favour of the prohibition.

Indeed, a number of justices of peace complied with the Council order and submitted detailed and objective reports before the deadline; among the early reports were those from East Lothian, Forfarshire, Berwickshire, Linlithgowshire, Perthshire, Selkirkshire, Roxburghshire, Fifeshire, Edinburghshire and Aberdeenshire.¹⁴

The Justices of Peace of Fifeshire found that the whole country was in an extraordinary dearth of wool, sheep and cattle on a scale unprecedented for many years gone. Oxen had become so dear that laborers were unable to buy them. This, they said, was most likely to continue and increase, unless some action was taken.¹⁵ The laird of Galashiels sent a letter to the council describing a similar situation, in

¹² RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 304-305, lxxxiv-lxxxix, 299-302.

¹³ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.550.

¹⁴ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxixpp, 670-678.

¹⁵ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, pp.277-280, 670-678.

which Englishmen were giving full prices for beasts, whereas poorer folks could not have any. And Gordon of “Lesmoir” in Aberdeenshire wrote that the sheriffdom was exhausted of both nolt and sheep while lowlanders and southerners came to the markets, bought livestock or animal products and subsequently sold them to Englishmen.¹⁶

Finally, the Justices of Peace of Kincardine similarly reported that they found the prices of oxen, kye and all other sorts of cattle to be exorbitant, and much higher than previous years. Prices had almost doubled, and poor men would have to quit their villages if no remedy was found. Curiously however, the crisis was confined to only cattle (in Kincardineshire), as the prices of sheep and wool did not show any difference from the previous years.¹⁷

Along with the reports, there was occasionally a personal letter from a Justice of Peace addressed to the Council, in which the former expressed his personal stand on the issue of export restrictions. For instance, the “Convener of the Justices of Selkirkshire”, Sir James Pringle in Galashiels, openly expressed in a private letter to the Council his displeasure at the hesitation to impose export bans, which, in his opinion, benefited the English by allowing them to buy Scottish cattle at exceptionally low prices.¹⁸ Due to this and similar objections raised by the Justices in private, the Council decided to extend the ban until late in the spring of 1627 and assigned a committee to closely monitor the Border areas in order to firmly implement the export ban.¹⁹

It is only such brief comments that were given as a reply to the lords of the Council’s request, and most of the other entries and answers sound at best like excuses to justify potential mistakes. More often, writers claim absence of knowledge or inability to investigate the issue. A petition by one Justice of Peace in Aberdeenshire asks that he was relieved from the duty as he was out of the country and at the time had some business with the court. A letter from Edinburgh mentions that it was not possible to make a report, as there had been no fair or market during the terms of the magistrates’ office. Another writer from Aberdeenshire (Sir John

¹⁶ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, pp.277-280, 670-678.

¹⁷ RPC, 2nd series, vol.2, pp.553-556.

¹⁸ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 677-678, lxxxiv-lxxxix.

¹⁹ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix.

Leslie of Wardes) asks again to be relieved from duty as he was “a gentleman altogether unacquainted with imploymentis of this kind” and had no authority or commanded respect to call the justices of peace to convene to his desire.²⁰ A series of reminders and repeated missives were sent from the Privy Council to obtain the many missing reports, an effort, which at best was met with similar replies (such as a second letter from Edinburgh mentioning the absence of any markets) or many times with no answer at all.²¹

At the same time, urged by the determination of the recently enthroned king to settle the dispute between burghs and the nobles on the issue of a livestock and wool export ban, Council members continued to examine the reports sent in by the Justices of Peace. They tried to assess the usefulness of such a ban and its consequences on the general economy. However, while several justices had sent in their reports promptly in 1626, they did not do so in 1627 and the Council finally received a little over ten reports, only one of which, the one from Kincardine, was detailed and extensive enough to be of any use. The overall impression that the Council derived from the reports was that cattle prices had been higher than ever during the past year when the export restrictions were into effect. Again it was mentioned that farm workers were not able to afford cattle, and were expected to abandon farming if market conditions remained unchanged. Council members, however, were not satisfied with the amount of evidence presented to them, so they put more pressure on the Justices to send in their reports. More reports indeed arrived and, as a result, the cattle and wool export ban remained throughout 1627.²²

Generally, for the above discussion one can refer to Appendix 3 and 4 to read two excerpts of some of the many entries, arguments and discussions about the livestock crisis of 1625-1627. Appendix 5 contains a transcribed example of the reports the Council received for its 1626 survey, and Appendix 7 contains two samples of the replies for the 1627 survey.

Hides: Free Trade vs. Protectionism. With the wool and livestock markets being under investigation by the Council, there was another issue that had arisen, and it

²⁰ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.685, 670-685, 277-280; RPC, 2nd vol.2, p.618.

²¹ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.685; RPC, 2nd series, vol.2, p.363, 62.

²² RPC, 2nd Series, vol. 2, pp. xxix-xxx, 29-30.

concerned a peripheral trading area. During the last years that James was king, he had implemented significant changes in the Scottish tanning profession that eventually had divided the people who had interests in the market. More specifically, having made it possible to rework high-quality hides into leather, leather manufacturers wanted to be free to export as many such hides as necessary in order to maintain high prices in the local market as well as to enjoy high export revenues. On the other hand, the burghs, as representatives of the consumers, wanted to see the hide market being strictly regulated and exports to be prohibited or highly restricted, in order to maintain low prices in the home market for leather goods. The protection of the local hide market and the nearly complete restriction of exports, for the benefit of consumers, had originally seemed to the Council as the more reasonable policy, so the Council members passed an Act to that effect late in 1626. A small amount of hide exports was permitted, but exporters had to obtain special permission, or risk having their merchandise and moveable property seized by the authorities, should they be caught violating the law.²³

The king, however, having been already convinced by the Edinburgh tradesmen that the free export of hides gained him a significant revenue through export customs, objected strongly to the restrictions and asked the Council to withdraw the Act soon after its implementation. Even after the king had expressed his dissatisfaction towards the prohibition, the Council was not willing to abandon its protectionist policies without further consideration of the matter.²⁴ As a result, early in 1627, the Council members advised the Justices of Peace of seven shires and leather craftsmen from various burghs to each submit a report by the end of February 1627. They were to indicate the possible implications of a ban on hide exports on the general economy, as well as describe the extent to which, salted hides, necessary for the manufacture of leather, could be produced locally.²⁵

Most of the justices of peace, and in particular, those of Edinburghshire, Linlithgowshire, Haddingtonshire, Stirlingshire and Selkirkshire, replied before the deadline. So did some of the leather craftsmen who were contacted, and specifically

²³ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 478, lxxxiv-lxxxix.

²⁴ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, 507, 518.

²⁵ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, 524-525.

those of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Glasgow and Dundee.²⁶ The majority of responses were favorable to the tough export restrictions, suggesting that hide exports would do severe damage to the national economy. Moreover, they assured the Council that the production of leather with materials and methods available locally was very feasible. The Justices of Selkirkshire, however, thought to be influenced by Sir James Pringle of Galashiels, were the only ones who strongly supported an uncontrolled exportation of hides, as they believed that a prohibition of exports would cause many local people to lose their jobs. In addition, they suggested that there were not enough resources locally, in terms of materials and specialized labor, for the processing of all available salted hides into leather. After receiving the report from Selkirkshire and conferring with the “Provost and Magistrates” of Edinburgh, the Council decided not to issue a final judgement on the hide export issue. Instead they passed the temporary Act of Council early in the spring of 1627, allowing Edinburgh hide tradesmen to export nearly seventy percent of their existing stock.²⁷

Smuggling to England and Evasion of Duty

Unofficially, contemporary writers frequently mentioned how illegal transfer of cattle to England was taking place during the ban years, and excessive exports, as discussed above, frequently provoked the Council into adopting policies which significantly interrupted the cattle trade in the first half of the seventeenth century. However, the entries in the Privy Council records in which illegal drovers were arrested on their way to England are few. It appears that either drovers had developed the skill to spot obscure routes towards England (perhaps as a way of avoiding customs, initially) or that the statements about the large amount of illegal droving were exaggerated.

It was in 1612 that an act first appointed certain places in the Borders for the payment of custom on livestock passing between Scotland and England. Although, in theory, custom dues were to be extracted before that date, it seems difficult to

²⁶ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. 529-580, lxxxiv-lxxxix.

²⁷ RPC, 2nd Series, vol.1, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxix, 547-548, 537.

imagine how that could happen without any custom points. The custom places of Gretna (later superseded by Alisonbank) in the east, Jedburgh or Kelso in the Middle March, and Duns or “Mers” in the West March were established and the act was published at the market crosses of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Annandale, Lochmaben, Jedburgh, Kelso and Duns.²⁸ Six years later, in 1618, the first charge against drovers failing to pay the custom dues appears in the Privy Council records. Symone Glendoning in Kelso and Robert Scott, a merchant there, illegally transported 72 cattle, 140 lambs, three skins and four hides, while Robert Douglas of Bank transported another seven cattle. It is noteworthy to mention that again, the large-scale drovers (such as Adam Neisbitt and Anthone Trotter who illegally exported approximately 100 cattle each) came again from the Southwest, while two more drovers (from Duns and Blackdyke) both accounted for an additional 30 cattle.²⁹ Two years later, in 1620, Andrew Neisbitt in Upsettlington and William Trotter in Ryslaw were charged for another illegal drove (for 36 and 72 cattle respectively) and a few other drovers (from “Eistrestoun”, Kimmerghame and “Horneder”) account for an additional 40 cattle in total.³⁰

Illegal Cattle Exports to England during the Ban Years

The Privy Council appears to have tightened more its policies for cases of illegal exports during ban years, than cases of evasion of duty. In 1625, an entry about a commission to appoint certain lairds to use vigilance for the prevention of the violation of the acts against the transportation of the cattle, mentions that the transport had become so frequent and universal that it threatened to create a great scarcity of livestock. The act appointed people responsible for arresting and seizing cattle on their way to England and a commission was formed to administer the policy until Christmas night of the year, a time well after the customary October/November “deadline” which drovers faced due to market and environmental factors.³¹ In 1627, one of the last ban years, another supplication in the Privy Council summoned

²⁸ RPC, 1st series, vol.9, pp.394-5.

²⁹ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, p.326.

³⁰ RPC, 1st series, vol.12, p.196.

³¹ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, pp.138-139.

against the people who had contravened the law by exporting cattle. Another lengthy entry again stressed the utmost importance of following the orders as livestock prices had reached such an extraordinary rate, at which livestock was essentially made scarce in the country.³²

Yet, despite the repeated proclamations and supplications, there are again very few cases in which illegal traffic was recorded in the Privy Council. Considering that livestock would be seized and given/sold to the Treasury, it is reasonable to assume that cases would be mentioned in the Council records and not dealt entirely at a local level. In 1625, there is a caution against certain people (from Wigtown and Larg, again in the Southwest) to appear before the lords of the Council and answer accusations. Nevertheless the charge is not followed up in later volumes.³³ Another entry mentions the confiscation of six- score of cattle “destined for England” belonging to William Maxwell of Steilson. He maintained, however, that he bought the cattle in Ireland and that after hearing the proclamation prohibiting the transport of goods, left them to pasture (presumably near the English borders) until he would find the occasion to sell them within the country. Again, the case is not followed up (although witnesses were ordered to appear under pain of rebellion) and one can imagine how difficult it would be to prove or disprove such a claim.³⁴ An undated seventeenth-century document belonging to the paper collection of the Fergusson family of Craigdarroch for example, shows that the family genuinely followed a similar practice of having people escorting droves of Irish cattle near the English borders in order to avoid the waste of the landowner’s grass.³⁵

Nevertheless, despite the Privy Council’s preoccupation to impose a ban so difficult to enforce, the lords of the Council also made exceptions. They gave permission to the Earl of Annandale to bring cattle from his Irish lands through Scottish territory with the purpose of selling them in England (a request made with the pretext that his tenants had no means to pay him his rents there).³⁶ It is interesting to note that a letter from his Majesty granted the same Earl £900 Sterling as part of the sum expended in building the king’s house at Lochmaben. The amount would be

³² RPC, 2nd series, vol.8, pp.435-436.

³³ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.154.

³⁴ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.421.

³⁵ GD, 77/180/6.

³⁶ RPC, 2nd series, vol.1, p.591.

paid out of the fines collected from illegal transporters and drovers of cattle, a remark, which provokes a few questions. Did the king erroneously assume there was such an amount available to the Privy Council from cattle fines (there is no evidence to support this in the entries), or was the whole process of appropriating livestock in cases of illegal trafficking conducted through a different body or administrative process? It is interesting also to note that in the king's letter there is no mention of money arriving from fines on sheep, wool, or hides, so the king believed – or knew – that almost the entirety of the fines resulted from attempted cattle exports.³⁷

Generally, it is difficult to make quantitative conclusions on illegal trafficking from the Privy Council volumes. Yet, this set of records is the main source available for inferences and discussion, and hopefully it provided here some insight on the problems that the lords of the Council had to face when enforcing such economic policies, as well as some evidence on the effectiveness of such policies.

Adverse Weather, Lent and the Prohibition of Slaughter of Animals (1615-1617, 1633)

Another interesting topic which emerges after reading the Privy Council records relates to the prohibitions of eating meat during Lent, a fact which proves that the authorities worried about shortages of meat at the second decade of the seventeenth century as well. The later series of export bans were naturally accompanied by repeated proclamations against the slaughter of livestock. In general though, the Council frequently used Lent, the period of 40 weekdays from Ash Wednesday to Easter, as a regulatory period during which the slaughter of animals was forbidden in order to increase livestock numbers.

In 1615, the Privy Council issued further orders, as its lords were informed that throughout the country, the slaughter of lambs did not take place at open markets but in hidden cellars, and livestock was sold as if no prohibitions were made. Such orders do not appear to have been popular. In the same year another proclamation was issued (see Appendix 2 for one typical sample of the many proclamations of the Privy Council pointing out a policy against internal consumption). In the next year

³⁷ RPC, 2nd series, vol.2, p.473.

the government prosecuted a number of fleshers for illegal slaughter. 21 fleshers in Edinburgh and Cannongate as well as 10 in Leith were charged for selling livestock openly at markets and were ordered to appear before the Council. It is interesting to note that the same pattern, which was observed in prosecutions of bandits and thieves, occurred. The ones who did not appear were denounced as rebels and the ones who swore that they were innocent were acquitted. Four, who confessed in this case, were detained in the tolbooth at their own expense “until relieved”.³⁸

In the same year (1616), a renewed proclamation called attention to the good effects which the earlier measures had on the preservation of lambs during the previous’ years storms. Again the proclamation forbade the slaughter of lambs. The frost, snow, rain and wind in 1615 had made such a universal destruction that livestock almost became extinct, according to the Council.³⁹ It should be noted that in these proclamations, the term “lambs” frequently refers to livestock of any kind, as implied in subsequent sections or clearly mentioned later in the same entry. The uncertainty is not so much predominant in Privy Council records of the late seventeenth century, when a more organized, precise and systematic approach in the writings of the lords of the Council begins to be obvious.

After the difficult period between 1615 and 1617 during most of which, the slaughter and export of livestock was banned and strict observance of the Lent season was enforced, one can assume that the next winters were kinder to Scottish farmers. It is in 1633 that another proclamation can be found against the eating of flesh in Lent. The slaughter of livestock was still banned though (an order holding over from the 1617 proclamation). On this occasion, however, it was not a case of bad weather and dearth of livestock. The king’s visit was expected and his needs (as well as the needs of the lords of the Privy Council, Court of Session and Exchequer who were granted similar liberties by his majesty, for the occasion) had to be satisfied.⁴⁰ Unexpectedly, during the other difficult period, around 1626-1627 (which had resulted in the unsuccessful livestock price survey of the council), no mention of strict observance of the Lent or illegal slaughter was made at all.

A proclamation in 1662 prohibited the eating of all kinds of flesh during Lent

³⁸ RPC, 1st series, vol.10, p.323, 321, 527.

³⁹ RPC, 1st series, vol.10, pp.475-476.

⁴⁰ RPC, 2nd series, vol.5, pp.39-41.

once more. After the lords of the Council took into consideration the great advantage and profit that would come to the kingdom by keeping the time of Lent and the compulsory weekly fish days (Wednesday, Friday and Saturday), they discharged of all persons to eat any flesh during that time. Nor were any merchants to kill or sell any sort of flesh. In that way, the hazard of scarcity and dearth would be prevented and the fish industry would profit with the encouragement to the many poor families who mainly lived by fishing. Similar proclamations applied yearly before 1640, and the Council in 1662 declared that the weekly fish days will be observed in all time coming and that no subject of the kingdom of any quality, rank or degree would eat meat unless they had a special license. Further on, no butchers, cooks or hostlers would kill or make ready for sale to merchants, or at their own houses, any kind of meat. The penalties for a first time violation was £10 Scots, for a second £20 and for a third £40.⁴¹ Such proclamations appeared publicly at the merchant stores in Edinburgh. Of course, special licenses were again made for sick persons to eat flesh during that time.⁴²

The King's Visit and Consumption of Cattle

The above point of minimum local consumption of meat, as illustrated by the Privy Councils' entries about Lent, as well as other sources, is revealed also at the instance of the king's visits to Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century. There was a royal visit in 1617 and another one in 1633 and in both cases the Privy Council issued detailed orders about the provision of meat for his majesty. Provosts and bailiffs of each shire, borough and town were ordered to undertake to feed and house, in a ready and available manner, a number of fed nolt. Perth magistrates took the responsibility to reserve six-score nolt, Dundee 300 nolt. The burgh of Stirling was to provide 20 kye, the city of Glasgow 300 cattle, the city of St. Andrews 60 nolt, the burgh of Cupar 24 cattle, the town of Alloway 30 nolt. The burgh of Dunfermline was to make available 35 cattle, the burgh of Inverkeithing 10 fed nolt and the burgh of Dysart 12 nolt, the burgh of Pettinain (Pitinnan ?) 10 fed- nolt. The

⁴¹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1662, pp.153-154.

⁴² RPC, 3rd series, vol.1, 1662, p.161; 1663, pp.331-332.

burgh of West Anstruther was to supply four nolt, the burgh of East Anstruther 12 nolt, the burgh of Montrose 36 fed-nolt, the city of Brechin 100 fed-nolt. Moreover, the burgh of Forfar was to make available 20 fed-nolt, the town of Kilmuir 32 nolt, the burgh of Linlithgow 24 fed-nolt and 24 young oxen, the town of Dalkeith 20 cattle, the town of Musselburgh 12 nolt and finally, the town of Newbattle 30 fed nolt.⁴³

The cattle kept in use for the king would be sold at “reasonable prices” to the royal household, according to the Privy Council.⁴⁴ In the case of Edinburgh and the parks of Holyrood house, there was assigned a compensation of 940 merks Scots to its tenants as it would be their livestock, which would be kept and fed on the parks for the use of his Majesty. However, the confiscation (albeit with financial incentive) was not very popular among eight men who illegally continued to pasture their own cattle in the park of Holyrood notwithstanding the Privy Council’s orders. A daily fine was enforced of 13s 4d for each horse, 10s for each nolt and 40d for each sheep, a sufficient amount to make a lengthy stay very costly.⁴⁵ A similar situation in Linlithgow suggests that it was not only in the Highlands where every acre of pastureland was exploited as to maximise the weight and number of animals.

The cattle trades of the first third of the seventeenth century were thus seriously interrupted on occasion as a result of the imposition of export bans (in 1615, 1626-1627, 1646). Unfortunately whether the trade subsequently recovered from the low levels of the late 1620s, during the ‘thirties and ‘forties cannot be established as thereafter no references are available regarding the volume of nolt exports until 1655-6, when the Alisonbank custom duties record only 1,050 cattle (and 6,000 sheep). Only during the next decade, the 1660s did recorded cattle exports increase greatly over 1610s levels.⁴⁶

⁴³ RPC, 2nd series, vol.5, pp.4-5.

⁴⁴ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, p.82.

⁴⁵ RPC, 1st series, vol.11, pp.7,13,16.

⁴⁶ It was estimated in 1662-63 that 18,364 Scottish cattle were customed at Carlisle; in 1664 an estimated 30,961 Scottish cattle were customed at Carlisle and 16,932 at Berwick; and at Alisonbank alone 1,050 cattle were customed prior to crossing to England in 1665-66.

Scottish Exports to England, 1666-1691

For the period between 1662 and 1701, the Scottish port-books can help towards a more systematic analysis of the export figures to England, although many port-books during this time are absent or incomplete. D. Woodward in his article examining the Irish-Scottish livestock trade, also consulted the same custom and excise records and summarized the cattle and sheep exports of Scotland.⁴⁷ Despite D. Woodward's very interesting analysis, it was felt that the sources had to be revisited. The export data were transcribed, summarized and analyzed in more detail. Also, the examination of the names and place-names of the people who appear as exporters helped towards a more accurate understanding of the cattle industry of the period.

The origins of the recorded droves is another issue, which has not been adequately explored in the secondary literature. As will be seen in a subsequent section, the Scottish custom books give the names of the men who controlled the livestock but sometimes it is the landowner, sometimes the drover. In either case, the guarantors or dealer/drover need not relate to the origins of the drove. Few of the books regularly give the places of the men's domiciles (which would indicate with more precision the origins of the droves) but even there the problem of identification remains. "Little Park" in Kirkcudbrightshire, for example was the home of Patrick Herron who sent 1,000 or more cattle to England via Dumfries in each year from 1689 to 1691. Yet, the "name of this place occurs in no gazette and only the local knowledge of Professor Butt in a seminar discussion enabled its identification".⁴⁸ Moreover, the relative importance of the cattle exports (and the tolls extracted by the government) in relation to the total mainland exports to England has not been fully determined either. Admittedly, many of the answers to the questions above lead to the conception of more questions, yet, this is not to undermine the importance of the custom and excise records as one of the most valuable sources for the cattle industry.

Woodward's export figures have not been fully confirmed. In the present study, the figures are slightly different but this is understandable considering the state

⁴⁷ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century" in Cullen, L. M. and T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), pp.147-164.

⁴⁸ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp.155-157.

of the port books, the illegibility of the writings and the deterioration of the manuscripts. Woodward's figures are usually two to five per cent off (and in one or two cases 10 per cent), compared to the export numbers summarized here. There are two exceptions, however, in the Dumfries port books, in the years of 1681 and 1691. In both years, Woodward's numbers are about 1,000 while according to the research for this thesis, in 1681, 5,000 cattle were exported to England and about 6,500 in 1691. Missing or inaccessible port-books at the time when Woodward's article was written perhaps can account for this substantial difference. Table 1 and Figures 11.1/13.1 can be consulted for a summary of the present findings and as guidance to the discussion below.

Results and Discussion

First, it is easy to see that it was the west ports of Dumfries, Alisonbank and Castleton that accounted for most of the cattle trade. As can be shown in Figure 12.1, exports from Dumfries account for 36 per cent of total cattle exports, and exports from Alisonbank for almost half of the total exports (both ports responsible for 83 per cent of cattle exports). Adding another nine per cent for Castleton, one arrives at the impressive figure of 92 per cent (of the recorded 162,043 cattle exported through the west ports). Jedburgh and Kelso combined, in the middle march, are responsible for only six per cent of all cattle exported. Ayton and Duns in the Eastern March account for only one per cent (the latter two precincts seem to be responsible for a small trade in dead livestock, and records in 1682 suggest that almost 500 dead cattle were exported in that year). Moreover, there is no evidence to suggest that this pattern behind export custom points changes over this period; the three precincts in the West March consistently account for the vast majority of cattle exported, as is illustrated in Figure 12.2.

GRAPH 12.1: Total Cattle Exported from each Custom Point, 1665-1991

(from E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691)

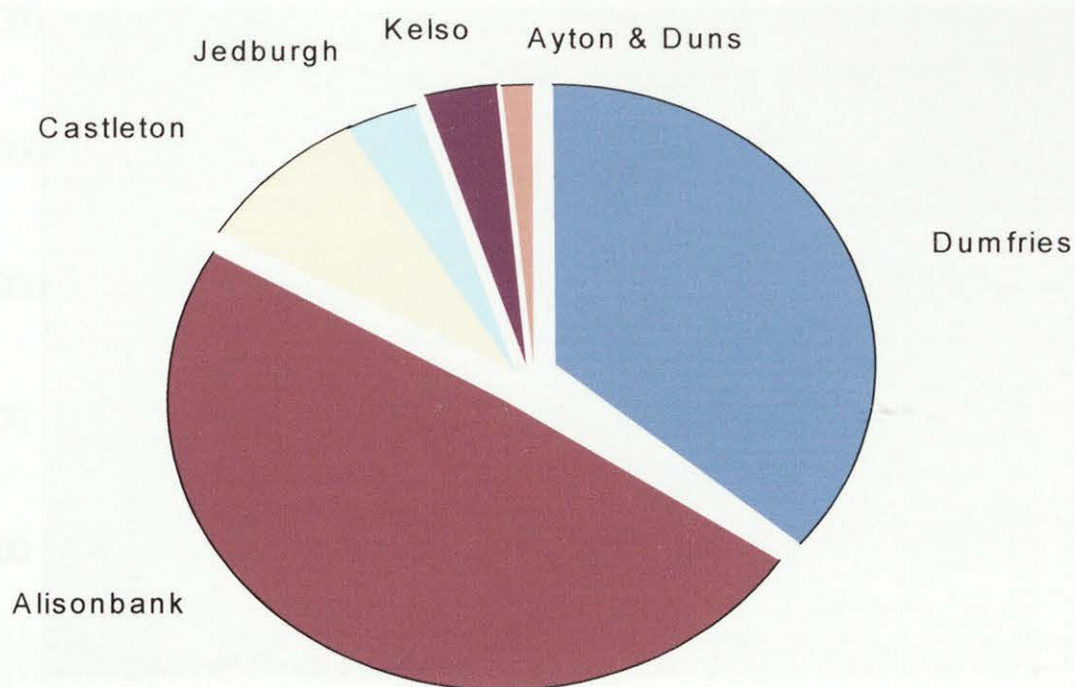
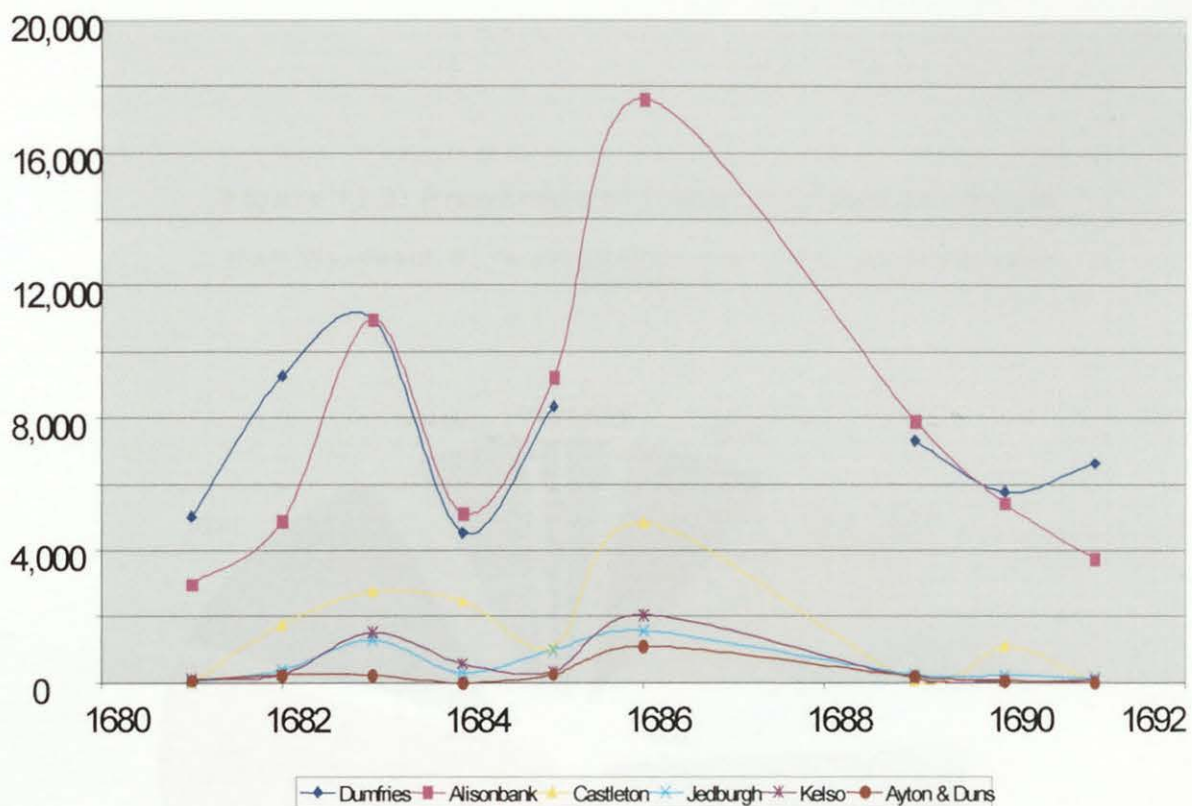


Figure 12.2: Cattle Exported from each Custom Point

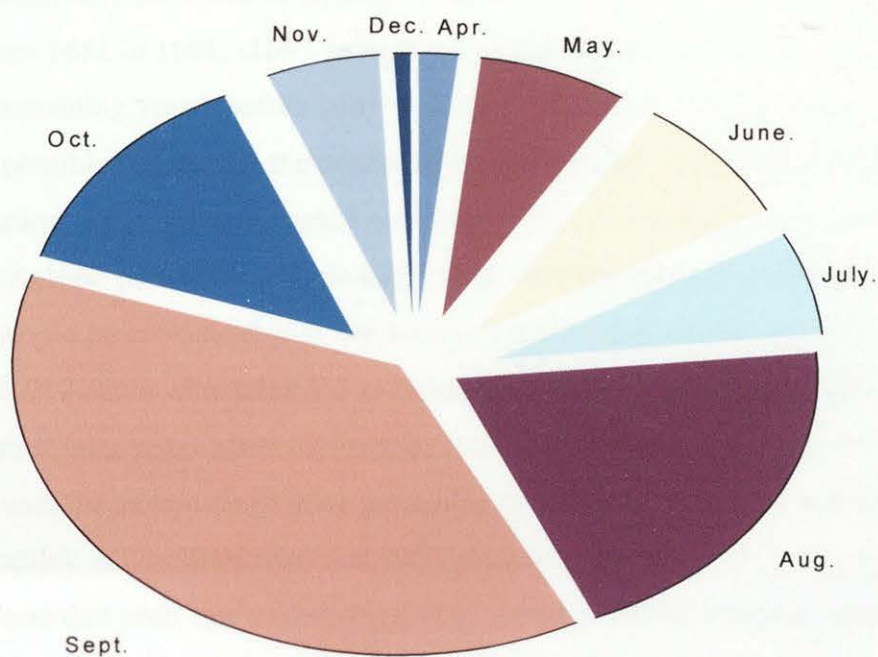
(from E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691)



Moreover, Woodward's findings about the percentage of cattle exported each month are confirmed (see Table 6 or 12.3); two-thirds of all cattle were exported from August to October (26.4 per cent in August, 25.8 per cent in September and 13.7 per cent in October). Cattle had to be sold before the next season and the English demand for beef remained unabated. Approximately another 30 per cent of all cattle was exported during the three months of May, June and July (with a rather even distribution) and a smaller number of four per cent in November.

Figure 12.3: Proportion of Cattle Exported per Month

(from Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock")



During the span of the twenty-five years examined in this section, it is difficult to observe longitudinal trends. A reasonable expectation would be to see rising export numbers. It is suggested in modern historiography that the cattle industry gradually increased from the mid-seventeenth century until the early nineteenth before facing a very abrupt decline. Perhaps twenty years is a short time to infer such patterns but the figures lead to other conclusions. It seems likely that the cattle industry experienced an abrupt increase well after the Act of Union when the English threat to block the markets was a thing of the past. And later on, it was well into the eighteenth century when the Empire's wars and other economic and social changes increased the demand for cattle. One can observe Figures 11.1/13.1 to visualize the above. Fluctuations naturally exist over the years but considering the nature of the trade, which was dependent on environmental and weather conditions as well as the English, Welsh and Irish markets (who could substitute the Scottish supply) the figures for this period do not show any clear increase.

Generally, there was an average of approximately 18,000 cattle exported each year from 1681 to 1691. (1687 records are absent and not calculated in this average). In the remaining years (before 1681 and after 1691) most port books are missing and it is impossible to estimate the exports figures. However, small snippets of information suggest that the cattle movement was more or less stable during this period. A 1666 port-book records 8,337 cattle passing through at Alisonbank. This figure would be consistent with the average export figures between 1681-1691. Also in 1672, 212 cattle were recorded at Jedburgh, a figure more or less in line with numbers at later years when the average exports there ranged between 150 and 350 cattle (with the exception of three particular years when exports were in the order of 1,000 cattle). A Dumfries record in 1673 suggests that only 145 cattle passed through to England that year, but it consists of only one page which recorded cattle movement during October, while the rest of the manuscript is missing.

The above figures are sometimes inconsistent with the other sources and contemporary estimates (presented in the previous chapter, Figure 11.1 and summarized in Table 3); few however of the later seem to be grossly mistaken. Essentially, an average of 16,000 cattle legally exported serves only as a guide to the

total number of cattle exported, which was probably much higher. As mentioned in a later section, contemporary politicians and businessmen complained of illegal droving, and of drovers who found ways to avoid tolls and customs. A contemporary estimate as early as 1660 puts the total number of cattle exported to 20,000-30,000 every year. After looking at other sources as well, it seems reasonable to take a figure such as 25,000 as a logical estimate. 30,000 cattle were stationed in Carlisle in 1744 and assuming that the vast majority of them were Scottish cattle, the figure of 25,000 seems again very reasonable. The jump to the figure of 80,000 at mid-eighteenth century or 100,000 cattle, at the end of the century, according to later estimations, seems to have been an abrupt event occurring sometime after the Union and probably around mid-eighteenth century.

After examining the export figures, the extent of the cattle trade seems clearer. Although there is a large number of goods and commodities, which were exported through the West, Eastern and Middle March, they account for a very small percentage of the total custom excised. Even the large number of sheep exported mainly through the Eastern March did not provide great proceeds to the Crown, as their duty value (and relevant toll excised) was much lower than the values (and duties) pertaining on cattle. Out of all the port-books, about £82,000 Scots constituted tolls related to cattle while total duties were in the order of about £112,000 Scots. That makes cattle proceeds account for more than 73 per cent of state revenue from customs from the Borders. Throughout most of the period under examination in this section, the custom duty of 10s Scots was extracted for every nolt (except 1666 when the toll was 8s Scots), and this figure was used to determine the above statistics. It should be noted of course that duties do not represent market value and many goods were frequently over or under-customed. Yet, according to the period's custom rates, a uniform five per cent duty tax was applied to the majority of products, though occasionally this percentage is found to have been considerably lower or higher.

The Concentration of Revenue from the Cattle Trade

It is very interesting to note how in the excise records the same people feature

again and again as regular exporters of cattle (see Table 4 of the Appendix for a list of the top exporters and the cattle they were responsible for). There are about 1,840 different people who appear to have exported cattle over the period between 1666 and 1691. In total, the excise entries of cattle exporters are more than 4,200, which means that on average, each person crossed the borders about 2.3-times. The total number of cattle exported lies around 160,000 in the same period, which essentially creates an average of 87 cattle exported per person over the span of twenty-five years. This is only a part of the picture though and the average hides a very uneven distribution. The 50 top exporters account for more than half of the cattle exports, which means that each exported more than 1,600 cattle. It is interesting to observe how only 2.7 per cent of the total exporters account for more than 50 per cent of all exports. The same uneven distribution remains when the arbitrarily chosen number of 50 top exporters is further expanded. Only 122 people exported more than 300 cattle in total over the years, and their total export edge above 110,000 cattle. With this group, 6.6 per cent of all exporters crossed the borders with almost 70 per cent of all cattle that passed through England. For a final example (better illustrated with Table 5), to cover 90 per cent of all cattle exports, one has to include less than 300 people out of the 1,800 exporters (so 16 per cent of people account for 90 per cent of cattle). There is no evidence to suggest that this pattern started to emerge after a specific year during the aforementioned period. Large droves were recorded from the very early (and missing) records of 1666 and continued to prevail until year 1691 after which no other records survive. It may be surprising to observe such a situation from such an early period. Traditionally, it is in the eighteenth century that many historians have expected to find large farms devoted to pasturing and selling cattle (the same “capitalist” farms that were converted to sheep lands when English demand required so). It seems that even from the mid-seventeenth century, there were a few people who had been using their large estates as pasturelands. These people had organized and specialized their businesses and resources around the cattle industry. This small group of people account for most of the exports in livestock and consequently for a very significant part of the total exports of Scotland (as cattle singularly constituted, for a long time, around 20 to 40 per cent of all exports to England).

It is easy to observe from the names of the top exporters that, as D. Woodward concluded, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Highland cattle did not feature prominently in the cattle trade, contrary to some historians' beliefs. In the custom books of the 1680s, English and Border names predominate, although some Highlanders did control large herds, such as John McLeod with 570 cattle in the 1681 Alisonbank book.⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, there were few Highland names amongst the 1,500 lowest exporters. It would seem unreasonable for drovers to travel such a long journey unless the size of the drove was large enough to provide a healthy profit margin. But this changes as one moves to the top 300 names, where Highland names appear a little more frequently. Highlanders are still the minority by a long way (being less than 20 per cent of top exporters), but their significance is not negligible. Considering the division of the country between the richer south/east and the poorer Highlands, this percentage acquires more significance. In absolute numbers Highland exports are not that important but if one considers the lower standard of living in the Highlands, perhaps the lower figure corresponds to a larger section of local commerce and trade, than the higher figures/exporters do in the South.

The generally uneven distribution of cattle exporters may also reflect the fact that it was just a few drovers who were trusted and who were assigned large-scale jobs. The cattle could have come from a variety of regions and it is not necessary that one landowner was responsible for such large droves. However, in the few cases where the name was followed up and some additional information was found, the drover was related to a cattle park or a cattle-specialized farm or landlord. As mentioned before, there are problems with determining the origins of the droves by looking at names (or even places) alone. One can not assert with confidence that for example a Highlander was controlling Highland cattle. It is plausible that rich Highlanders acted as sponsors for drovers who bought cattle from the Lowlands or the South. Alternatively, and perhaps more probably, Highland cattle might have spent a period of time being fattened at the rich pasturelands of the Southwest before they were sent across the Borders. In the excise entries, there are a few instances where the name of a Highlander is written along with a Southerner's (and usually the

⁴⁹ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp.155-157.

latter was from the Southwest). Perhaps such partnerships were more common; it was not necessary to enter a second person in the records and many might not have bothered to write more than one name. In either case however, such issues illustrate the difficulties in determining the origins of the cattle droves.

Places of Exporters, Cattle Origins.

Generally, it is very few times that a name of the place is written alongside to the name of the exporter. With the risk of over-emphasizing a perhaps unreliable set of sources however, it is worth examining these place names. As discussed before, D. Woodward accidentally found out that “Little Park” in Kirkcudbrightshire, was the home of Patrick Herron who sent 1,000 or more cattle to England via Dumfries in each year from 1689 to 1691. Ironically, Patrick Herron was the largest single exporter of cattle (he alone was responsible for three per cent of all cattle exported) and sent more than 5,000 cattle in that period. The Southwest districts indeed appear to have played a very important role in the cattle trade of the late seventeenth century. David Dunbar of Baldoon with his famous cattle park was a notable improver in those parts, and Andrew Dunbar and he exported more than 1,200 cattle in total. Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell in Dumfriesshire sent in 1682 two droves totaling 680 cattle to England and a later drove of 420 cattle. It is interesting to note that the latter drove was co-signed by Duncan McDougall as second drover. This could be very cautiously interpreted as possible evidence for the fattening of Highland cattle in the Southwest. Generally, it appears that Highland cattle (being of lesser size and inferior quality) were destined to be consumed in Lowland cities, but this might not have always been the case.

Another one of the big entries refers to Lockerbie fair (again in the Southwest, Dumfries) from whence Bernard Ross exported more than 1,000 cattle. Interestingly, Hugh McGustork who exported more than 1,300 cattle writes Rusco as a place of domicile, which is again in the Southwest. Unfortunately, few other place names appear on the records and even fewer relate to the small number of top exporters. However, it is a big leap to assume that the person’s domicile remained constant throughout one’s life and that this place was also his birthplace. Perhaps more

information can be gathered from genealogical studies or other registers. Further research on the birth places and places of domicile of the top drovers might be very useful, and perhaps in the near future with the gradual indexing of the manuscripts held by the National Archives of Scotland, such an effort will be able to realize significant results.

D. Woodward is skeptical about the above line of research however, and suggests that it is not known whether the names refer to the name of the drovers, the landowners, or sponsors, a reasonable argument which complicates things even more. It seems though, that it is the drovers' names, which appear on the records. Most port-books do not contain a distinction between drovers and landowners but in the few port-books where officials appear to have asked for signatures as well, most of the times it is one and the same person who fills this information. About 100 out of the total 1,800 exporters signed the records and the total cattle these people exported amounted to about 18,000 (from the 160,000 cattle exported). The fact that many times it is different members of a family who sign the port-books probably reflects the same thing. It was customary for the drover who happened to fill in the "form" to write his own name (and occasionally when he was asked to, he signed as well).

Working under the assumption that a) usually it is the drover's names that appear on the records, b) usually the drover had his domicile in the general region where he was born and, more importantly, c) that the drover gathered the cattle from the wider area around his home ground and familiar environment, rather than compete with other drovers in distant districts, it can be safely said that the Southwest was the place wherefrom the majority of cattle originated.

Limitations of the Sources

The limitations of the export figures should be stressed. As can be inferred from Table 1, the records of many months are missing from the accounts. Figures were considered to represent real exports here only when at least 10 of the 12 months were recorded and only if the missing months were December, January, February or March, months in which, as discussed above, about one per cent of the total cattle

was exported. The records of the years before 1681 therefore, are mostly absent, as is the year 1687. Further on, many mistakes in the original documents (such as inconsistencies between number of cattle and tolls extracted) do not allow for precise calculations, hence the small differences between the figures found in this report and some of Woodward's numbers. It is also interesting to note that when corn exports were high (in presumably good harvest seasons) cattle exports were much lower, making the cattle trade appear as something of a last resort income source for the not exceptional seasons. When England demanded grain and Scotland could meet this demand, the cattle trade was suddenly not the first priority.

The missing pages and the illegal exports mentioned above are only part of the port-books' limitations. Names do not have a standard spelling and frequently it is very difficult to determine if two drovers are actually one and the same. Even a simple name such as John Carruthers for example (who appears to have exported 1,319 cattle in total) can be confusing. With no uniform spelling, the name was written as Caruthers, Curuthers, Curithers, Curithairs or other similarly sounding combination of letters. Therefore, grouping the exporters and obtaining the total number of cattle that each exported, was not a trouble-free activity. Sometimes a signature exists below the name, which makes the process more straightforward: although the spelling differs, it is obvious that the handwriting is identical. As a simple rule, in Table 4, names, which were phonetically very similar, or identical, were cautiously presumed to be the same person, an assumption, which seems reasonable considering the level of literacy and standards of writing of the period.

Another issue deserving attention concerns the family names. The previous example of John Carruthers is very indicative of the problems. There is John Carruthers, Charles Carruthers and James Carruthers who exported more than 400 cattle over the same period, while George Carruthers exported more than 500, Christopher Carruthers more than 1,000 and William Carruthers more than 1,500. It is reasonable to assume that in the case of large-scale drovers, more than one members of one family was involved. Whoever appears in the excise record entries is probably random: in the above example of the Carruthers, who were mass exporters, probably different members of the family guided the drove, each, with his servants and dogs, responsible for 50-100 cattle. So, the above numbers, which illustrated the

uneven distribution behind the volume of exports, are even more skewed. The number of 300 names (which account for 90 per cent of the cattle exports) can be also interpreted as perhaps 150, or even fewer, families, a fact which depicts the extent of the cattle trade as an even more specialized activity. Further on, collaborations (where two names are written in the custom and excise records) are classified as one “name” despite the fact that both people appear elsewhere as sole importers of cattle. And that narrows down the list people even more.

Also, it is frequently very difficult to determine the difference between Mc and Mr when transcribing the documents (a problem which is also apparent in the published Privy Council records). So, the above brief analysis of names should be taken with some caution in regards to absolute numbers and percentages mentioned. Finally, the discussion of the Highland versus Lowland names relies more to a statistical probability in which surnames with family origins of a certain general area “are likely” to have lived and worked at that region. Genealogical research for this period is faced with severe obstacles due to the absence of registers and other primary sources, and the brief research conducted for each name for the purposes of this study should be taken with extreme caution.

Chapter 13

Scottish Exports to England: Other Sources

The English Ledgers (1696-1707)

Another useful source, which allows a further examination of the export trade of Scotland, consists of the English records, and the relevant export/import summary can be consulted in Table 2 of the Appendix. The Ledgers of Imports and Exports of England recorded the movement of goods from and to all countries which traded with England. Although the series is in theory uninterrupted from the period of the ledgers' creation (1696) until the Act of Union, the records concerning trade with Scotland are unfortunately not continuous and seem to be subject to the political changes of the period. By 1706, English officials appear to have stopped recording the majority of the Scottish imports, and the entry of that year mentions that imports from Scotland amounted to a value of £6,733 Sterling. During the previous decade, the relevant figures consistently ranged from £50,000 to £130,000 Sterling. More than that, entries of cattle imports are not found after 1703, a fact, which as discussed by Smout, can not be fully explained by the English discussions (which remained only a threat) to ban imports, unless Scotland consented to the Union.

Clark's *Guide to English Commercial Statistics* as well as a few other studies, have discussed at length the advantages and limitations in using the ledgers of imports and exports.¹ It is true that many conceptual and theoretical problems have been associated with this set of sources. Studies of the value of the English exports (such as the one by J. McCusker in *The Current Value of English Exports 1679 to 1800*) have revealed many methodological problems.² This section however is limited to summarizing the cattle imports from Scotland, and many such problems

¹ Clark, G.N., *Guide to English Commercial Statistics* (London, 1938).

² McCusker, J. "The Current Value of English Exports 1679 to 1800", *William and Mary Quarterly* XVII, 3 (1971), pp.607-628.

therefore do not apply. Unlike the cattle figures, however, which are rather straightforward, the aggregate numbers in Table 2 which summarize the total value of England's exports and imports with Scotland are to be taken with more caution. They are derived from a larger set of data which according to the literature is characterized by many distortions and biases.

The valuation of the goods (cattle included) by the English officials were not revised after 1703 and the prices remained fixed at an outdated level until the mid-nineteenth century. Cattle entries however are not recorded after 1703, and the valuation of between 35s and 40s Sterling seems to be reasonable, considering other sources and contemporary estimates. These values were not derived from figures stated by exporting merchants but were fixed per commodity by "the ablest foreign merchants" without reference to a difference in quality, time of season, or country of origin of importer.³ The ledgers are divided into imports to (and exports from) London, and imports and exports of the other out-ports (a fact, which also has created a series of questions on double entries, the reliability of the records etc). As is to be expected, no cattle were imported to London, yet a significant part of the total imports was directly channeled there. In 1697, London imported goods to the value of approximately £39,987 Sterling while all other out-ports drew goods to the value of £84,848 Sterling. The approximate rate of one-third of the amount of the total imports continued over the next years to be related to London imports. In 1702, London imported £24,775 Sterling out of a total import valuation of £71,429 Sterling. When, however, cattle imports ceased after 1703, the balance of these trades shifted drastically. In 1704, London imported goods valued at £22,446 Sterling out of a total of £54,378 Sterling, and in the next year, London imports (£26,582 Sterling) actually surpassed all the other ports' imports (£23,727 Sterling).

A similar pattern is observed when one assesses the impact of cattle imports to the value of total English imports. During the years when cattle entries exist, England had an adverse balance of trade with Scotland, with a deficit ranging from a value of £12,740 to £66,792 Sterling. This was with the exception of 1698, when the accounting period changed and entries were recorded only from Michaelmas (29

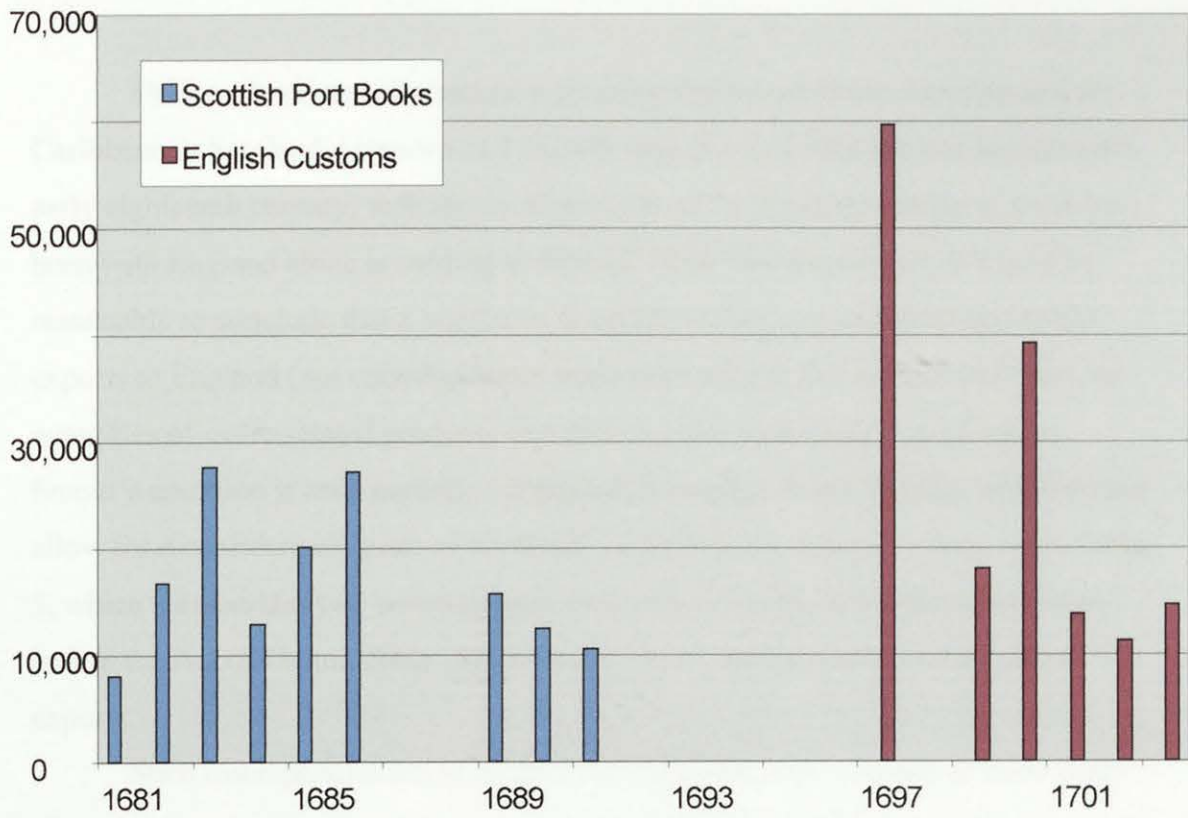
³ Roessner, P., *New Avenues of Trade. Der Aussenhandel Schottlands im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Tradition und Revolution (1707-1783)*, Unpublished MA thesis (Goettingen 2002), pp.31-38.

September) to Christmas, after the droving season. When cattle entries ceased however, the deficit was immediately transferred to Scotland with a range of £10,000 to £40,000 Sterling.

Generally about 40 per cent of the value of Scottish exports to England from 1696 to 1703 consisted of cattle, and apart from linen, which contributed another 40-45 per cent and perhaps coal (2 per cent), all the other exports goods were negligible. The value of the cattle trade varies significantly during these years (from about £30,000 Sterling to £60,000) but perhaps this is to be expected considering the extent to which it relied on environmental conditions; unfortunately, no evidence was found among primary sources to justify the fluctuation. Comparing the averages of the ledgers' period to that of the Scottish port-books it seems that there had been a definite increase in the volume of the trade during the five year period when no export figures survive (1691-1696). At the years before 1691, an average of 15,000 to 20,000 animals crossed the borders but from 1696 to 1703 the average per year is about twice those numbers. Yet, this is mainly accounted for by only two years (1697 and 1700) when respectively 60,000 to 70,000 cattle were exported, while for the other four years available, the average is well below those numbers at about 25,000 cattle. For 1697 this discrepancy can be partly explained by the change of the accounting period which made two droving seasons overlap but again, it is still one year approximately that is represented, and the real figure would not be considerably smaller. With no further evidence from primary records, it is assumed that seasonal and environmental factors account for the fluctuations, especially since in the longer term, from 1681 to 1703, it is difficult to infer changing trends. Figure 13.1 can be consulted for an illustration of the export trends as found in both the English Ledgers and Scottish Port-books.

Figure 13.1 : Scottish Cattle Exports, 1681-1703

(from E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691;
RH4/15/1-4 English Ledgers 1696-1707)



There are other entries in the ledgers which concern hides and skins but the quantity and value of such products was not significant. At best they reached a value of a few hundred pounds Sterling (such as in the 1697 entry where 72 calf skins were valued at £105 Sterling or next year when 570 calf and hare skins were valued at £286 Sterling). A trade in sheep and lambskin was also taking place but the largest import that can be found related to skins of a value of £1,589 Sterling.

Scotland's Total Exports

Unlike a later period when an increasing ranking of North America and the Caribbean in Scotland's imports and exports took place, during the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century, well above 50 per cent of the Scottish volume of trade had been with England alone according to Smout.⁴ With that assumption, it would be reasonable to conclude that a quarter of Scottish economy revolved around cattle exports to England (not counting lesser trade internally in live animals and beef, or quantities of cattle-related products exported to other countries). Nevertheless, Smout's assertion is only partially confirmed by contemporary records, which do not allow for a confident estimate of Scotland's total exports. As can be seen from Table 7, which summarizes two contemporary estimates of Scotland's trade a few years before the Act of Union, cattle only accounts for 11 per cent of the total value of exports.

Such discrepancies might be deceiving though. 1704 was one of these years when no records exist for cattle exports, and opinions are divided about the extent to which the English threat affected drovers' activities. Both 1704 estimates assume that the actual number of cattle exported was less than 15,000, if the reasonable price of £1. 10s Sterling for each head is applied. Scotland in good years however, exported about 30,000 cattle, amounting to £45,000 Sterling an amount, which is twice the 1704 estimate, and three times the other. So based on that number, cattle

⁴ Smout, T. C., *Scottish trade on the eve of union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1963), pp.25-30, 236-239.

would constitute 25 per cent or 33 per cent of all Scottish exports, depending on the contemporary record. Of course, it was not only the cattle trade which was potentially affected by the English threat, so the above percentages would probably need to be discounted due to increased exports of other products in good years. But still, cattle were reported to have been the main good seriously affected by the alleged English ban. Further on, as seen in the table, the two estimates have many discrepancies and can not provide a concrete and reliable estimate of Scotland's exports.

Chapter 14

Irish Exports: the English and Scottish Ban

Background of Irish Cattle Trade: From Development to Crash (War) to Full Recovery (1614-1664)

The case of Irish cattle must also be considered, as it distorts the general export figures (discussed in previous chapters). They also overestimate the significance of the Southwest, as Irish cattle were exported to Portpatrick and driven to the custom points of the West Marches for export.

In Ireland, social conditions facilitated trade. Unlike Scotland with its restless borders and the clan wars of the seventeenth century, Ireland had a relatively more peaceful climate, especially after the Tudor conquest of the island. Generally, Irish cattle were of a larger breed, and from the second part of the 17th century they were fed very efficiently. In 1667, English officials at the custom offices valued Irish cattle at 40 per cent above Scottish and it is not surprising to read that Scots tried to import Irish cattle to improve their breeds.¹ A brief history of the Irish livestock economy in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century is attempted here, in order to accumulate more information on the competition for the English demand for beef, as well as to speculate on the direct involvement of Irish cattle in Scottish territories.

As early as 1614, members of the English nobility had expressed in their private correspondence the opinion that Irish cattle exports to England would be very profitable for the former, as was the case with imported livestock from Scotland. Recorded evidence, however, suggests that Ireland was not able to offer high quality stock since farmers did not have the necessary means to provide adequate and

¹ Devine, T. M., D. Dickson, et al., *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850*. (Edinburgh: Donald, 1983), p.4.

frequent feeding for their cattle. In order to eliminate this obstacle, English corn imports to Ireland were deemed essential, but this measure caused a reaction from a part of the Irish population, which believed that increasing import expenditures for the sake of cattle rearing would not benefit the Irish economy. In 1616, in fact, the suggestion that Irish cattle exports had to be restricted or eliminated altogether was gaining ground among the farming and trading population in Ireland, but not enough to determine its export policy. At the same time, there was growing concern about rising cattle prices, but this appeared to have been unfounded and never materialised into policy. In 1620, an English Parliamentary inquiry revealed that cattle imports from Ireland were one of the causes of the shortfall of money in England, because Irish exporters demanded compensation for their goods exclusively in money.²

During the first four decades of the seventeenth century, and despite such protectionist concerns, the Irish cattle trade slowly grew but not without fluctuations and crises. In circumstances resembling the situation in Scotland during the same period, Irish cattle were frequently underfed during years of bad harvests, and also succumbed to fatal diseases. Irish cattle also often fell prey to thieves, despite the Council's efforts to prevent such instances by restricting the buyers' access to only reputable cattle markets in 1624. To further strengthen their policies against cattle theft, the Council prohibited the transportation of livestock during the night, in 1625. In the same year, England engaged in war with Spain. The war, along with the Irish authorities' belief that large cattle exports caused their national resources to dwindle, led to the adoption of strict measures aiming to prevent cattle and other livestock from reaching Spain. Two years later, Ireland intensified its control over exports in order to prevent large amounts of livestock and any other related good from reaching any destinations overseas (but England was excepted from the policy). Export duties were increased, and this caused great concern as to the effect that these measures would have on the volume of trade. Table 9 in the Appendix clearly depicts the changes that took effect in the pricing of exported goods. The price of cattle in particular, the good that comprised the bulk of Irish exports, had considerably appreciated.³ In 1632, it was suggested that the British fleet could take advantage of

² O' Donovan, J., *The Economic History of Live Stock in Ireland*. (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1940), pp. 33-40.

³ O' Donovan, *The Economic History of Live Stock*, pp. 33-40.

the lower provision costs in Ireland but plans for their maintenance by Irish merchants were not fruitful. Nine years later, Irish authorities were forced to cut down duties to five per cent of the value of the good exported, at a time when the value of cattle was estimated at 20 shillings for each animal. But soon after, such concerns and policies were irrelevant: the 1641 wars and the 1650 disaster nearly decimated the cattle population, killing as much as 75 per cent of them and as a result, Ireland resorted to the importation of Welsh meat products in 1652. In that year, livestock of all descriptions (which was 10 years earlier estimated at a value above £4 million) was not worth £500,000. The value of livestock had dropped to almost a tenth of its former value. Yet, cattle continued to constitute the bulk of Irish exports to England and trade kept improving until 1664, a few years before the English Cattle Acts were put to effect.⁴

Estimates of Volume of Cattle Trade from Ireland to Scotland before the Bans

During the aforementioned period, Ireland was exporting cattle to England through Scotland mainly via Galloway. In the first four decades of the seventeenth century, Irish livestock expanded, as mentioned before, but unfortunately, the size of its trade in Scotland, or in total, is uncertain due to poor custom data. Yet, a few estimates and records do exist to provide a glimpse of the trade of that period. By the late 1630s, annual cattle exports from Ireland were estimated to exceed the figure of 20,000 possibly by a large margin.⁵ From 1660, Ireland (and Scotland) increased their exports and record levels are recorded in 1660. Possibly 50,000 cattle (and over 100,000 sheep) were shipped from Ireland and a large proportion of them passed through Scotland.⁶ The custom books of the Border custom point at Alisonbank record that 7,287 Irish cattle marched from Scotland to England between 30th May and 13th July of 1666 (and only 1,045 Scottish).⁷ Non-quantitative data also confirm

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century" in Cullen, L. M. and T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), pp.149-151.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Ibidem; Lenman, B., *An economic history of modern Scotland, 1660-1976* (London: Batsford, 1977), p.10.

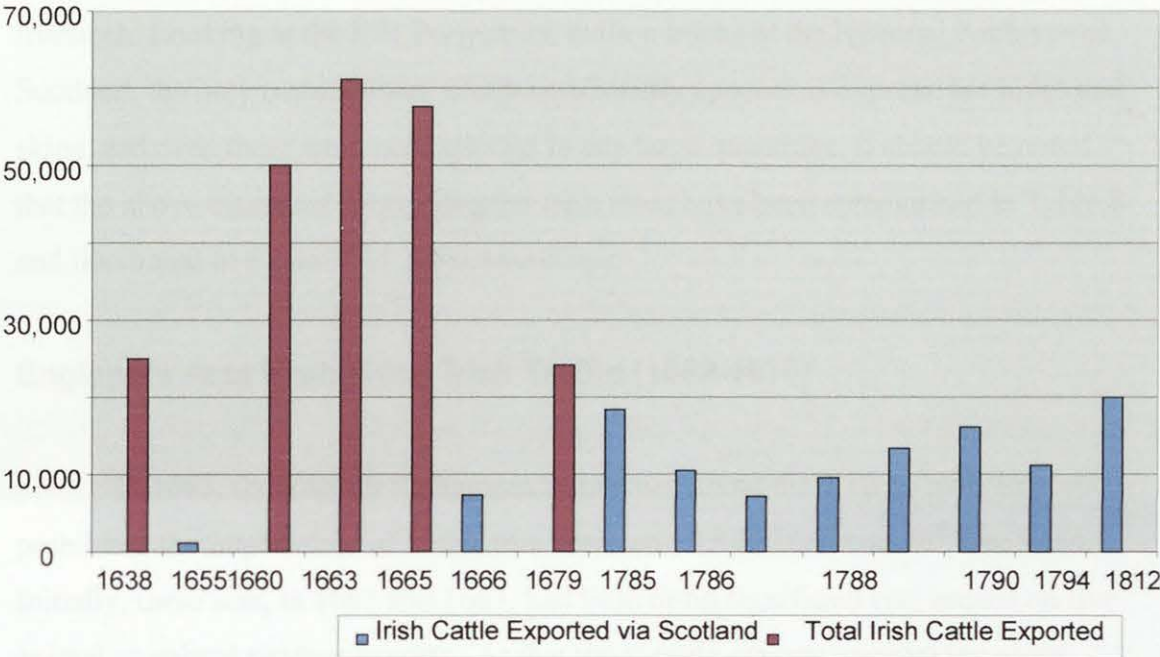
that Scottish imports of Irish cattle were taking place in that period. Thomas Tucker, for example, in 1655, writing of Galloway, speaks of Portpatrick as having a trade with Ireland in horses and cattle.⁸ In 1655, another source records that customs levied on Irish livestock and merchandise amounted to £573 6s 8d Scots money.⁹

(amounting to less than 1,000 cattle at best, even if one makes the big assumption that exported horses and other livestock goods were of negligible value). This smaller figure is explained easily though, as it represents the exports of a period only a couple of years after the Irish troubles and devastation of mid-seventeenth century.

In 1663, it was estimated that 61,000 Irish cattle were imported into England by various routes and in the same year 18,574 cattle passed through Carlisle from the north. But it is not clear what proportion of them came from Ireland. In 1665, despite increased duties, 57,545 cattle (and 99,564 sheep) were shipped from Ireland but again it is not clear what proportion of those passed through Scotland.¹⁰

Figure 14.1: Irish Cattle Exported to England and Scotland (incl. Scattered Estimates)

(from main section)



⁸ Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), p.163; Brown, P. H., *Early travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1891), p.180.

⁹ Corrie, J. M., *The "droving days" in the south-western district of Scotland* (Dumfries: J. Maxwell, 1915), p.4.

¹⁰ Lenman, *An economic history of modern Scotland*, p.237.

The Portpatrick records curiously show that Scotland was exporting cattle to Ireland as well, in small but not trivial quantities, a fact which is peculiar considering the large number of cattle that the Irish wanted to dispose of. In the years 1672, 1681 to 1686, 1689, and 1691 to 1692, the only years for which records survive, a small trade in livestock was taking place. From January 1692 to January 1693, 1,414 cattle were exported to Ireland. Horses were exported regularly from 1682 to 1686, about 1,000 a year (taxed at £3 Scots a head). Nevertheless, it might be premature to jump to any conclusions; in the remaining years, no cattle were exported, the exportation of horses declined abruptly, and the only additional entry under which livestock appears, refers to 100 cows exported from January 1689 to December 1689. Assuming that the records are complete and that illegal droving was a small percentage of the legal exports, it seems that Scotland only occasionally exported to Ireland, probably in the odd years when Ireland did not have adequate supplies of livestock. Looking at the E74 Portpatrick bullion books at the National Archives of Scotland, the only commodities which consistently appears as exports, are hides and skins, and even these were not exported in any large quantities. It should be noted that the above estimates concerning the Irish trade have been summarised in Table 8 and illustrated in Figure 14.1 for convenience.

England's Acts Prohibiting Irish Traffic (1662-1670)

In 1663, the English Parliament, concerned about these large-scale imports, prohibited the importation of Irish cattle between 1st July 1664 and 20th Dec 1664. Initially, these acts, in 1662 and 1663, had little or no significant real impact on live animal or animal product exports. At that time, cattle exports were taking place mainly during the warmer months of the year and practically ceasing for the rest. But this trading pattern had caused a reaction among English livestock breeders who objected to the importation of large quantities of animals; there are reports that

imports exceeded 60,000 animals in 1663. The Cattle Acts followed in 1664 and 1667, and originally were meant to implement temporary policies which were to be revoked a year later. According to the scheme of the first Cattle Act, Irish cattle imports were allowed during the second half of the year, but were also very heavily taxed. Taxes were so high that they practically eliminated all incentive for traders to import livestock from Ireland, causing Irish cattle imports to fall dramatically. The import penalty of 40s Sterling for each animal of the bovine species, and 10s for each for the ovine species were high import penalties considering the price potentially to be realised. Ireland, by that time, seems to have possessed a large number of cattle ready to be exported, and was hit hard. Table 10 summarises a contemporary's estimate on the number of the Irish cattle population, by age and type.¹¹

As a result of the above policies, Irish farmers were forced to slaughter their animals at an even younger age than they used to before the trade restrictions. This loss incurring practice, combined with the inability to freely channel their products to France or Holland because of the war with England, further reduced Irish farmers' revenues, especially compared to their English counterparts. Unlike earlier years, Irish cattle started to amount to less than one per cent of the annual meat consumption in England, totalling less than £80,000 Sterling annually.¹²

It took two years, from 1665 to 1667, for the second Cattle Act to be put into effect, but unlike the first Cattle Act, it was significantly more damaging to the Irish farming economy, as it became considerably more difficult for Irish farmers to evade the harder trade restrictions. The second Cattle Act was originally drafted by the "Grand Juries of Yorkshire" in 1665, in an effort to relieve competition for English cattle, but the proposal failed to earn the vote of the lords in Parliament. A year later, the bill was redrafted before it was brought before Parliament, this time putting emphasis on lost rents due to lower farmer incomes and the depreciation of land.¹³ According to the new regulations of the second Cattle Act, trade restrictions were not only limited to live animals but also extended to most common tradable animal products, such as meat and dairy.¹⁴ Table 15 clearly depicts the fluctuations and

¹¹ O' Donovan, *The Economic History of Live Stock*, pp. 46-50.

¹² Ibidem, pp. 51-53.

¹³ O' Donovan, *The Economic History of Live Stock*, p. 57.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

changes in the volume of trade for several Irish exported goods during the period before and after the Cattle Acts, between 1641 and 1669.¹⁵

The Irish ban temporarily ended in the spring of 1679 and immediately thousands of animals landed in England forcing the English parliament to impose a new ban as of February of 1681.

Subsequent Scottish Ban on Irish Cattle and Attempted Enforcement

As was mentioned above, the English Parliament prohibited the importation of Irish cattle between 1st July 1664 and 20th December 1664, and the importation of Scottish cattle was subsequently prohibited from 24th August to 20th December.¹⁶ This was not designed to stop imports but to force the Irish and Scots to send lean beasts to England. The number of Irish exports did not decrease but landowners were forced to send their beasts earlier than they would have liked. The ban was superseded by a complete ban of importation of cattle from Ireland and other places overseas, taking effect from February, 1667. The Scots prohibited the importation of Irish cattle from 1st March, 1667 to gain from this policy and to remain the sole exporters of cattle to England.¹⁷

Shipments of Irish stock to Scotland stopped in theory, but some consignments managed to evade the official customs, and many Scots throughout this period complained about illegal Irish imports.¹⁸ Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon in Wigtownshire, in 1670, was fined for importing Irish cattle to sell in England, and in 1682 some of his cattle were seized in England because they were suspected of being Irish.¹⁹ During the years of the ban however, many petitions have been found in the Privy Council requesting permission to import cattle from Ireland to improve the local stock in the Southwest. Permissions were usually granted when the demands were reasonable and the requested number of cattle was small enough.²⁰

¹⁵ O' Donovan, *The Economic History of Live Stock*, p. 63.

¹⁶ Cullen and Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history*, pp.149-151.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Ibidem, pp.149-151.

¹⁹ Corrie, *The "droving days"*, p.4; Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, pp.161-162; RPC, 3rd series, vol. III, pp.105-106,129.

²⁰ Corrie, *The "droving days"*, p.5.

At the years before (and after) Scotland's ban on Irish cattle, exporters from Ireland had to face the Scottish officials at the custom port of Portpatrick, which included the Isle of Whithorn, Stranraer and Wigtown.²¹ Unfortunately the surviving records of the Portpatrick port-books refer to the period when the ban was imposed, so obviously there are no recorded entries of cattle imports. Illegal droving was taking place (and subsequently, the issue of how the Privy Council tackled such cattle related offences will be analysed more extensively). However, the problem of illegal Irish imports did not provoke or allow contemporaries to make any realistic and consistent estimates of its extent.

During the period considered in this thesis, the prohibitions did not cease. But it should be briefly noted that after 1780, when the ban ended, exports of Irish cattle were considerable. In 1780, Portpatrick possessed six vessels of 50 tons each, which shipped cattle from Ireland. The statistical accounts of Southwestern parishes record the imports of 55,000 cattle between 1786 and 1790.²² This averages more than 10,000 annually, a figure consistent with the estimate of the author of the *General View of the Agriculture of Dumfries* in 1794.²³ According to the statistical accounts, in 1790, 17,275 cattle were arriving at Portpatrick while in 1812, this number had reached 20,000.²⁴ Drovers, like more than a century before, were again travelling successively to markets at Glenluce, Newton Stewart, Gatehouse, Dumfries, and so on to Carlisle or southern English markets until they disposed of their cattle. Irish cattle had to travel a considerably smaller distance on their way to these markets (compared say to Highland cattle). But Irish cattle incurred additional shipping costs, and trade was naturally more vulnerable to weather changes. These factors probably balance the relative journey costs comparing Ireland and northern Scottish lands.²⁵ Due to improved farming and transportation practices, the exports to Scotland

²¹ Scottish Record Office, *Guide to the National Archives of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996), p.81.

²² Corrie, *The "droving days"*, pp.135-138; Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, p.163; *The new statistical account of Scotland, 1845*, vol. IV Portpatrick, (Edinburgh - London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1845), p.152; *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. I, p.43.

²³ Handley, J. E., *Scottish farming in the eighteenth century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1953), pp.225-229.

²⁴ Corrie, *The "droving days"*, pp.135-138; Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, p.163; Great Britain, *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. IV, p.153.

²⁵ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp.155-157.

declined from 1830 (as most aspects of the cattle trade) and Irish cattle were transported directly to England.²⁶

The Prohibition and the Scottish Economy: The Arguments

The first ban on Irish beasts, did not significantly increase the Scottish cattle trade as had been expected (exports show a lot of mysterious fluctuations during these years).²⁷ The English population grew little in the later seventeenth century and changes in English agriculture involved a gradual increase in the size of the national flocks and herds. Still, when the Irish ban ended, during the spring of 1679, 24,116 cattle and 83,452 sheep landed at the west coast ports south of Cumberland, and the ban was re-imposed on February, 1681.²⁸ These levels of exports were low compared to 1660 levels but still, they indicate that English demand was not satisfied by Scottish and Welsh cattle alone. So it makes sense to suggest that Scotland was exporting by that period, the maximum number of cattle that it had the capacity to.

Although the English and Scottish bans did not affect Scottish exports considerably, it seems that the topic was a flaming issue for both the Parliament and the Privy Council, and this pertained not only in the late seventeenth century. There were repeated debates about whether the ban should be reinstated, and one of the best sources that illustrate the dilemmas and arguments consists of an unsigned manuscript in the Breadalbane estate papers. The manuscript is dated 1758 but most of the arguments pertain to almost a century of debate on the Irish ban. It was written probably as a speech, which would be delivered in the House of Lords, and the locator was most likely the Earl of Breadalbane.

According to the journals of the House of Lords, a bill to allow free importation of Irish cattle for five years passed its third reading on 27th March 1759. As in the late seventeenth century, Scottish cattle dealers wanted to avoid the situation in which Scottish and Irish cattle would compete for English demand. If only Scottish cattle were allowed to cross the borders, then Scottish farmers would get a higher

²⁶ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland*, p.166; Great Britain, *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. IV, Dumfries, p.20.

²⁷ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp.149-151.

²⁸ Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades", pp.152-154.

profit and landowners would have the option to increase the rent (or retain their frequently high rents).²⁹ The author of the manuscript also quoted Adam Smith who devoted a section in the *Wealth of Nations* to discuss the Irish imports, and had been in favour of the free importation of Irish cattle. Adam Smith made a distinction between fat and lean cattle, and believed that only the latter would be imported from Ireland to Scotland. The Borders were grazing areas: fat cattle would have difficulty travelling, and could not acquire a lot of extra weight on the way. Lean cattle on the contrary, would travel faster, easier, and would also gradually get fatter. According to Adam Smith, the Irish economy would profit from the cattle trade, the demand of England would be satisfied, and Scottish graziers would be more or less disaffected by the repeal of the ban.³⁰ It seems that Adam Smith's argument presupposes a very large demand for cattle, far from satisfied at that point of time. Also, it ignores a process, which was slowly taking place during this century, the enclosing of the fields, the charges to rent pasturing lands, and the inability to get access to the most convenient routes for travelling.

The *Scots Magazine* (in March 1759) entered the heated discussion as well, to suggest that it was immature to conceive the issue as a conflict between trade and landed interests. Rents might indeed have fallen if the Parliament allowed the importation of Irish cattle, but in the long run, the alternative would have been perhaps worse: high rents would drive manufacturers to raise prices due to increasing costs. In the end, the home market would be the only market for all such goods; hence the cattle industry would have stifled further economic growth.³¹

More pessimistic voices argued on the line that the annual profit of around £210,000 Sterling stemming from the cattle trade (as estimated) would be taken from Scotland and given to Ireland. The estimate was based on the assumption that 300,000 cattle were bred in Scotland and 70,000 were sold to England each year for an average of £3 Sterling.³² Malachy Postlethwayt gave a similar estimate of 80,000 cattle in 1751, in his book, *The universal dictionary of trade and commerce*.³³

²⁹ Anon. "Some Eighteenth Century Scottish Opinions on the Importation of Irish Cattle into Great Britain." *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, XVIII, 3 (1935), p.236-42.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² Although the discussion could have been directly relevant to the situation during previous decades, the figures and estimates apply to a new era of the cattle business, from mid-17th century.

³³ Ibidem.

The usefulness of following the above arguments, after knowing the developments, is limited. Rents did increase, an estate crisis did eventually happen but it seems that most of the studies and articles written on those issues suggest that Irish cattle had a small and very insignificant role in this, if they had any at all. The fact is that prices indeed did not fall when bans were repealed. Perhaps Adam Smith's assumption about the insatiety of the English demand for cattle compensated for the unknown to him future developments which undermined some of his arguments. In later accounts, after 1759, when the Parliament decided to allow the imports of Irish beasts, cattle prices were already very high and rising. The writer of the manuscript puts the price of cattle at an average of £3 Sterling per head and the records of the Marchmont estates in Berwickshire, in which annual inventories were kept, show a more or less stable and gradually increasing rate in that period. The Monymusk account books illustrate this as well. Most of the data (for a detailed longitudinal analysis of cattle prices consult Chapters 8-9 above) contradict W. Alexander who in his *Northern Rural Life* suggested in the late eighteenth century, that prices fell so low in 1765 that dealers in Aberdeenshire stopped payments on cattle.³⁴ Perhaps due to a bad season, cattle disease, or other reasons, this actually took place but it seems to have been an isolated event, by no means generalised throughout Scotland or related to Irish cattle.

More sources relating to this later period lead to the same conclusions: the demand could absorb all Irish, Scottish (and Welsh) cattle. William Marshall in his book *The Rural Economy of the Midlands Counties and Rural Economy of Yorkshire* writes in 1788, that the Irish supply of cattle was detained by east winds two years earlier and Yorkshire grazing grounds were in danger of under-stocking. Both in the winter floods of 1770-1771 and in 1762, when lean stock died because of a dry summer which caused shortage of fodder, cattle were urgently needed (according to W. Alexander).³⁵ It seems in retrospect, that the fear of importing Irish cattle was unfounded. It is other developments that affected cattle prices and demand, and although the Irish supply was considerable, its effect on the Scottish revenues from the cattle trade does not seem very significant.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ Ibidem.

Consequences of the Ban in Ireland and England and the Eventual Repeal (1670-1750)

Nevertheless, the consequences of the ban to the Irish economy were severe, since, until 1672, agriculture had more or less focused on livestock. More than 70 per cent of the Irish exploitable land had been used for rearing the three million Irish cattle, while less than 15 per cent was being cultivated. The quality of livestock had been improving since the Restoration and kept doing so up until the eighteenth century, even though disease and natural adversities were killing many of the animals, as was the case in 1660, 1664 to 1665, 1666 and then 1674.³⁶

The consequences on the English economy were also significant, since Ireland was lost as an important trading partner. For the period of five years that preceded the second Cattle Act, Ireland had been growing as a strong market for many English goods, which earned English producers around £200,000 Sterling annually. In the years that followed the 1667 Cattle Act, however, the value of English exported goods could barely reach £200,000 Sterling. Furthermore, the expected increase in rents, which landowners were promised as an incentive to support the Cattle Acts, never materialised. On the other side of the market, the structure of Irish goods exported into England changed considerably, and 1685 figures are recorded in Table 16 for reference.³⁷

Finally, the damaged trade relations between Ireland and England caused upset to the export trade conducted by English merchants through Irish ports. By 1690, Irish exports to France had been banned as well and it was clear that of the two countries that suffered the consequences of the Cattle Acts, England and Ireland, it was the latter that was initially hit the hardest. Dwindling revenues and natural resources meant that, for the first time in decades, a considerable amount of money had to be spent importing cattle from Europe and America in 1692.³⁸ Later on, however, and when Ireland turned to other markets, Irish exports had started to rise again and it was becoming apparent that the trade embargoes would prove to have

³⁶ O' Donovan, *The Economic History of Live Stock*, pp. 46-50.

³⁷ O' Donovan, *The Economic History of Live Stock*, pp. 75, 106.

³⁸ Ibidem.

adverse effects in England as well. This was partly because of the latter's hostile relations with several countries that would otherwise have been significant trading partners. That allowed Ireland to seize the opportunity to infiltrate these foreign markets and even begin to dominate them.³⁹

During the following years, and in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Ireland kept struggling to revive its trade. It did this by expanding the range of offered products and by supplying goods in foreign markets at lower prices, damaging in the process the interests of English traders who had difficulty competing. Table 12 illustrates the changes in the composition of Irish exports, and the resulting significant increase in the total exported volume which was gradually achieved within a forty-year period, ending in 1740.⁴⁰ Table 11 illustrates the changing export countries to which Irish goods were distributed. At the same time, repeated poor crops across Europe set off a period of scarcity of products, thus limiting the goods that could be made available for importation to England. As a result, the Cattle Acts eventually started causing controversy among the English authorities and merchants to such an extent, that eventually led to attempts to revoke the trade bans in 1730.⁴¹ Subsequently, trade restrictions were gradually relaxed and were made official by government decrees in 1759, and 1764 until 1777.

POSTSCRIPT. Irish economy transformed and later developments, after mid-18th century

The initial removal of import duties and the eventual lift of the ban contributed to a boom in live animal, beef, hide and dairy product exports to England as well as to other continental European countries in the period between 1756 and 1761. Donaghadee and Newry became the two biggest ports and remained so until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. During the period of the Cattle Acts ban, it had become apparent to Irish merchants that they could bypass the trade restrictions by supplying livestock products rather than the live animals themselves, and they did so very profitably. Table 13 depicts the changing pattern of Irish cattle exports. While the value of Irish exports was generally rising in the period from 1721 to

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 72.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, pp. 108-109, 53.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 106.

1761, the trade revenues that were generated by the export of cattle constituted a generally decreasing segment of total exports.⁴² This is the result of the efforts of Irish merchants to limit the damaging consequences of the English embargo by developing other trade areas, or by trading with other countries. Table 14 provides similar evidence of the financial benefit that Irish traders enjoyed by modifying their trading patterns, i.e. by changing the composition of the bulk of their exports at around the second half of the eighteenth century from live animals to livestock products. The final quarter of the century once again brought about a ban of exports, to France and the American colonies.⁴³ This, along with a temporary ban to Britain until 1778, not only decelerated and hindered the recovery of the Irish trade and overall economy, but also endangered the viability of Irish merchants and, consequently, the general Irish population. The official reason offered to Irish merchant by the British authorities with regards to the new prohibitions was the interruption of supplies to the riotous French and American colonies; however, many have suggested that the actual reason behind the embargoes was favouritism towards a small number of London-based government-affiliated suppliers.⁴⁴

Generally, the issue of Irish-Scottish competition for English demand is not straightforward. A number of Irish cattle passed through Scotland by Irish entrepreneurs and as a result, distort the figures on Scottish exports. Obviously, for the Scottish businessmen, the importation of Irish beasts (for subsequent export) must have been cheaper than the exportation of Scottish cattle, to explain the large number of Irish cattle crossing the Anglo-Scottish borders. In addition to that, indirect competition also took place, even during the ban. Irish hides in the late eighteenth century were used in the expanding tanning and leather industry. Irish salted provisions in beef (and pork) contributed to the Scottish food supply and were used as crews' stores on trading vessels operating at out of the Clyde ports.⁴⁵ Provisions represented a major element of the operating costs of trading vessels and their supply was an important consideration in sea-borne commerce. In this way,

⁴² O' Donovan, *The Economic History of Live Stock*, p. 53.

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 119.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 124.

⁴⁵ Devine, T. M., D. Dickson, et al., *Ireland and Scotland*, p.154.

Irish provisions made a small recognisable contribution to the Scottish western trade.⁴⁶ This gives additional evidence on how the English demand was not satisfied by Scottish and Welsh cattle. Scotland was trying to maximise her livestock exports to England, and the latter absorbed so many cattle, that Scottish provisions had to be provided through Irish animals.

⁴⁶ Ibidem.

Chapter 15

Scottish Administration and Policy: The Privy Council and the Prohibition of Irish Traffic

The Privy Council records are a rich set of primary sources, which, as mentioned above, have been relatively little used by economic historians. The records have provided, in this thesis, information on three mainly aspects of the cattle trade. First, Chapters 2, 3 and 4 summarized the Privy Council entries on cases of cattle thefts, which contained valuable information on a variety of economic, social and local factors.

The issues of exports, protectionism vs. free trade, and the attempted construction of consistent economic policies were also clarified with the help of the Privy Council records, in Chapter 12. Finally, before proceeding to the general conclusions, it is worth examining what information the Privy Council records contain on the issue of Irish imports to Scotland.

Inherent Problems of Enforcing the Ban

The first proclamation which prohibited the importation of cattle from Ireland, was passed in 1667. Interestingly, the petition to restrain Irish cattle was made to the Council earlier, in 1665. The argument was that the commodities to be prohibited were goods that could be provided within Scotland, and the latter obviously came first when it came to reaping the benefits of the trade. The Lords of the Council embraced all the points in the petition and apart from cattle, they also prohibited the importation of Irish salt beef, and grain. Those who would be found guilty, the Council wrote, would have their imports confiscated, with half of the goods appropriated by the Privy Council for its own use, and the other half rewarded to the ones who managed to seize the goods. Moreover, the guilty would also face

imprisonment.¹ Further on, a copy of a printed proclamation a couple of months later, shows that the importation of horses was also prohibited, as well as the importation of brandy. The guilty would be fined £200 Scots and also face the aforementioned punishments.²

It is worth noting that as years went by, the punishments became more and more severe, and the Privy Council adopted stricter measures to tackle illegal importation. As will be seen further on, it remains doubtful whether these policies were really effective. There are very few cases where the Privy Council appropriated goods from illegal importers. Most of these cases were later disputed and the fines were never imposed. A typical case involves, as discussed before, Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon who was ordered to make payment of the fines imposed for the importation of Irish cattle in 1669. The Privy Council fined him for £200 Scots and the sum of £130 Sterling, corresponding to the price of certain Irish beasts exported by him to England. He was warned that he would be imprisoned if he did not deliver these amounts in twenty-four hours.³ (The order had resulted after the lords of the Council, a couple of months earlier, had investigated a claim that the said Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon together with William Mc Guffock of Alticay and Robert Graham, the late provost of Dumfries, had imported Irish cattle and had sold them to England).⁴ Such measures, however, were difficult to implement. It was obviously impractical to prove that certain cattle were Irish (unless the illegal importers were caught in the act). It is no surprise, therefore, to see an entry in the next year, in which Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon was commanded to detain in his possession the 120 Irish nolt at his parks, until the Council gave further orders on how they would be disposed.⁵

It is not known whether the latter entry pertains to another case, as the petitioner writes, this time, of cattle actually having passed through England, but in any case, the Privy Council did not bother again with these unproved Irish cattle. Ironically, in 1683, thirteen years later, Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon sent a petition to the Council about a seizure in England, and subsequent the slaughter of his cattle,

¹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.2, 1667, pp.253-254.

² GD6/990, 1677-1678.

³ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1669, p.129.

⁴ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1669, p.82.

⁵ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1670, p.139.

under the error that they were Irish. He asserted that the cattle were Scottish and bred on his own farm. A Mr. Sympson, Gilbert Walkfied and their accomplices, all Englishmen, upon pretext that 60 of the cattle were Irish, had seized and killed them. They had also forced the servants to give them £25 Sterling and two guineas for ransom, before letting go of the drove. But the Council had probably acknowledged by then the problems of proving whether Irish cattle had been imported, and without any complications, David Dunbar was restituted for his loss.⁶

In another case, McDougal of Logan was also accused of ignoring one proclamation in 1667 and two in 1668 against the importation of Irish cattle. He was found guilty and was fined £200 Sterling. Yet, McDougal claimed that the cattle were fed and bred in his estates and again it seems that the case was not followed up.⁷

The Prevalence of Smuggling and Confiscation of Cattle; Import Exceptions for Breeding Purposes

Generally, it did not make sense to entirely forbid the importation of Irish cattle, which were of a much larger size and could be used for breeding purposes. The Lords of the Privy Council had to strike a balance between improving the national stock and prohibiting the trade of Irish cattle. The Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch found themselves at the unfortunate end of this spectrum. In 1675, they were granted license to import 4,800 nolt (with the condition that they were one-year old or at most two-year old), to replenish their waste grounds. But next year the license was declared void and the Duke and Duchess were prohibited from introducing any cattle, on the suspicion that the cattle that were to be imported were of a larger number and older, and destined for droving or sale.⁸ Nevertheless, when the number of cattle requested was of a lesser quantity, the Council was more permissive. George Murray, cornet of his majesty's troop, sent a petition for a license to import a number of Irish cattle belonging to him in Ireland. Considering that he had lived there before abandoning his estate in order to be employed by his majesty's

⁶ RPC, 3rd series, vol.8, 1683, pp.156-157.

⁷ RPC, 3rd series, vol.8, 1670, p.145.

⁸ RPC, 3rd series, vol.5, 1676, p.11.

service, 150 cattle were allowed to be imported on the condition that none more than the said number would be consigned.⁹ And another former resident of Ireland, Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Cochrane who had lived there with his family and children, was given permission to import 40 cattle when he decided to retire in Scotland.¹⁰

There are only two other cases where records in the Privy Council show that goods were seized. The first involved 120 oxen which were appropriated in 1669 from William Ralstoun and were delivered to Patrick Murray, one of the collectors of the customs, who was instructed to interrogate the guilty and guarantee that cattle were sold to someone who would not export them to England.¹¹ The second case involved a complaint in 1670 by the king's advocate against Robert Maxwell of Orchardton for refusing to deliver 36 Irish oxen, which had been seized at Kirkcudbright. Robert Maxwell was called to answer why he did not deliver the Irish cattle to Andrew Latimer, the collector deputy of his majesty's custom.¹² More interestingly perhaps, Robert Maxwell (and William, his brother, as recorded in the Privy Council), were perhaps the same Maxwells who appeared in the port-books as one of the largest exporters of cattle.

The proclamations against the Irish imports were supposed to have the cattle trade in mind rather than anything else, and it seems unlikely that the reason they were repeatedly passed in the course of many years, would be to discourage the imports of other goods. The number of entries relating to other seized consignments (like for example the order to the laird of Greenock about a vessel laden with meal and horses, which had been seized in Clyde) are very sparse.¹³ At the same time, it is worth noting that the proclamations against the importation of Irish cattle in this period are many times more than the number of actual cases. One could perhaps assume that the seizures were conducted under a de-centralised procedure, but from the above cases it seems that small- scale imports (such as the one involving 36 oxen) with no major complications, were indeed presented to the Council.

Resources Allocated to Enforce the Ban, and Repeated Attempts to

⁹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.4, 1677, p.119.

¹⁰ RPC, 3rd series, vol.4, 1677, p.110.

¹¹ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1669, p.85, RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1669, p.82.

¹² RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1670, pp.163-164, 138-139.

¹³ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1672, pp.552.

Control Irish Traffic

The Privy Council records have more than twenty entries on proclamations as well as the formation of committees which would attempt to discourage the importation of Irish goods. This perhaps indicates that unofficially it was common knowledge that illegal droving from Ireland was taking place. Hence, the Privy Council was gradually trying to engage more human resources in guarding the Irish traffic. A bond in 1670 was taken by heritors on the west coast, where ships from Ireland were landing. It empowered the lairds of Logan and French in Wigtownshire, the lairds of Baldoon and Mushes in Kirkcudbright, the Earl of Dumfries in Ayr, the Earl of DunDonald in Renfrew, the Sheriff of Bute as well as the Earl of Argyll and Kintyre to help towards seizing Irish livestock.¹⁴ Obviously these parishes had to be controlled, as it would be in those regions where the Irish cattle would land. Many landowners offered to help, although in practice it was difficult to guard such a large area.

A couple of years later, further recommendations were scheduled for discussion by a newly formed committee. The lords of the Privy Council recommended again in 1667, to the Earls of Argyll, Kinghorn, Seaforth and Dundonald to consider what should be done to restrain the importation of cattle from Ireland.¹⁵ Two years later, another commission was created to prevent the illegal imports and the Privy Council gave instructions for its creation.¹⁶ A couple of years later, the Privy Council ordered and employed commissioners to curb the cattle import. John Boyle of Kelburne, was one of the officers whom the lords authorized to search for, and seize, Irish victual, cattle, salt beef, horses and mares. He had the power to destroy victual or burn boats and had to account to the Treasury for half of the value of the seized goods. He was liable to pay £100 Sterling for every boat that he or his deputies failed to seize. The charge would not apply if the boat escaped the landing privately in the nighttime, or the boatmen and goods were secured and the men, victual, cattle or resettlers were seized within twenty days, with relevant

¹⁴ RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1670, pp.145-147.

¹⁵ RPC, 3rd series, vol.4, 1676, p.50; RPC, 3rd series, vol.5, 1676, p.11.

¹⁶ RPC, 3rd series, vol.4, 1678, pp.390-392.

accounts given to the Privy Council.¹⁷ The salaries were significant considering the fact that very few times Irish goods were proven to have been imported, and thus few officers would be liable to the aforementioned harsh liabilities if they failed to control the imports. John Boyle of Kelburne received 4,000 merks Scots yearly, while James Dunbar of Mochrum was paid 2,000 merks Scots and Robert Campbell another 2,000 merks. Half of that amount was delivered at the beginning of the year and half at the end.¹⁸

In 1679, all of the above policies were repeated once more in the Privy Council records, and one year later, a lengthier act tried to implement stricter policies and more effective measures. This time, Robert Campbell was assigned to be responsible for an area from Loch Long to the Mull of Kintyre. John Boyle of Kelburne was responsible for the region from the burgh of Glasgow to the march of Galloway on the south, from Glasgow to Loch Long on the north, as well as the islands of Arran, Bute, Comrie. James Dunbar of Mochrum was responsible for all places from the march of Galloway to the march of Nithsdale. This time these commissioners were authorized to convene any suspicious people to the nearest magistrate or burgh, and put them on probation. The commissioners were also free to search night and day, open doors, search cellars etc. Officers of any garrison were obliged to concur and assist the commissioners, when they were desired upon occasion. The latter were also empowered (with the consent of magistrates) to send people to prison (whether they were found guilty or were merely considered to be not cooperative). Also, commissioners were authorized to secure boats until it was verified by a certificate that victual or cattle was of Scottish growth. They were allowed to mutilate, slaughter or shed the blood of resistors and none of them or their helpers would be prosecuted.

All sheriffs, stewards, bailiffs of regalities and baronies were ordered to give their speedy and ready assistance in order to curb the illegal imports. Finally, all merchants were obliged to advertise their consignments at one of the following ports: “Garwell near Greenock, the towns of Largs, Irvine, Turnberry, Dumbarton, Rothesay and Brodick, Dunoon, Tarbet, Campbeltown and Inverary, Portpatrick,

¹⁷ RPC, 3rd series, vol.6, 1679, pp.670-671.

¹⁸ RPC, 3rd series, vol.6, 1680, p.597.

Glenluce, and Kirkcudbright”. Offices were established at these ports to receive the advertisements.¹⁹

In 1684, two more orders were written, appointing additional commissions to prevent the imports and administer the fines. And in 1688, again, another commission by the Council empowered the Earl of Glencairn and his deputies to search, seize and apprehend, all Irish victual, horses and cattle that would be imported into Scotland.²⁰ Half of the seized goods would be again given to the informer, and half to the poor people of the parish. The fine of 100 merks Scots would now be administered to both the sender and the receiver. Finally, another officer was appointed, with a salary of £1,500 Scots per annum to prevent the imports.²¹

The Privy Council’s efforts to eliminate illegal imports seem to have reached a peak in the period 1693-1703. At first, a proclamation in 1693 appointed a new person (David Crawford) as being responsible to coordinate the officers and servants whom he would allocate in order to catch the importers. Later, a similar act again stated the significant powers of the commission, whose members were free from persecution in any violence or death that might have occurred. A few other names were subsequently also enlisted to help David Crawford, in another Privy Council entry. Soon, Alexander Maxwell of Ayr was ordered to form such a commission and soon after that another entry voided previous proclamations and assigned a new person responsible (later also substituted).²² Punishment was now applied to all sailors, seamen, retailers, sellers, re-sellers, buyers, or people making any use of the illegal cattle. Taking stricter measures, the Lords of the Privy Council at this period mention how senior officials were rumoured to take bribes, and that factor perhaps accounts for the frequent change of guards and the formation of the new commissions. A few months later, punishments were assigned to judges who were said to connive to free guilty persons; 1,000 pounds Scots, a significant sum of

¹⁹ RPC, 3rd series, vol. 6, 1680, pp.594-597.

²⁰ GD39/39/1/33, 1688.

²¹ Anon. “Some Eighteenth Century Scottish Opinions on the Importation of Irish Cattle into Great Britain.” *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, XVIII, 3 (1935), pp.236-242.

²² PC1/49 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1693-1694., pp.308-312; PC1/50 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1694-1696., pp.150-153; PC1/51 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1696-1699., pp.416, 500-503, 426-228; PC1/52 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1699-1703., pp.165-166, 225-227, 195-198; PC1/53 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1703-1707., pp.41-8.

money, would be given to any informer, and as for the judge, he would be declared incapable of public trust. At the same time, 1,000 pounds Sterling were allocated by the Privy Council towards forming each commission and 2,000 pounds Sterling yearly for sustaining it, while 100 pounds Scots constituted the fine for each head of cattle.²³ It is worth noting that the peak of interest on illegal imports occurred frequently in years of bad harvests or famines (as was the case in some seasons of the aforementioned decade). One could expect an opposite situation, as the Irish supply could in theory lower prices in Scotland and thus alleviate some of the poverty. But as it has been shown, beef was not a substitution good for grain, it rarely constituted a significant part of a Scotsman's diet, and was mainly destined for sale in England.

All these attempts to curb the Irish imports had no noticeable results, as few consignments were actually seized. But this is not to suggest that the measures were ineffective. Perhaps the commissions, the officers and the repeated proclamations acted more as a deterrent rather than as measures to actually appropriate Irish goods. It is rather unlikely that the vast numbers of cattle imported before the ban continued to pass to Scotland. Especially the measures concerning the establishment of port offices and connections with the lairds of the Border parishes make it difficult to imagine how a significant number of cattle would manage to pass through. Primary sources coming from such centralised bodies are always suspect on how accurately they portray what actually happened at a local level, but considering how seriously the Privy Council allocated resources, employed the officers and tried to administer order, a part of the desired results must have been achieved. It seems that stopping the Irish imports was one of the first priorities of the Privy Council and it appears that it was moderately successful in doing so.

²³ Ibidem.

Chapter 16

Conclusion: Scottish Cattle Exports to England, 1603-1745

The Borders: The Establishment of Peace and of Scottish Cattle Exports to England after 1603

The pacification of the Borders during the years 1603-1618 brought a new security to the region as well as opportunities for the development of cross-border trade. To facilitate this emergent trade a new network of roads, bridges and harbour facilities was created. In the period from 1605 to 1634 one finds numerous road improvements (mainly financed by custom dues on cattle and other livestock). This ties in with the development of a regular livestock trade to England and the establishment of custom points on the Borders in the same period. There are more than ten recorded projects for the construction or improvement of bridges, roads and harbour facilities at this time. ¹The repair of the harbour of the burgh of Irvine was undertaken and the port of Portpatrick was improved (for which purpose 2s. Scots were granted to the Viscount of Airdrie for each horse or cattle). Tolls for such reconstruction work usually applied from five to fifteen years, although they were renewed frequently. ² Geographically, they were focused on the Lowlands, and mainly on the Southwest, in Dumfries, and Galloway, where many bridges and crosses were described as important parts of cattle routes to England, as well as for livestock coming from Ireland. Access from this road network to more northerly regions was also facilitated by new constructions. That at Dumbarton provided passage eastward to Tullibody where a toll for the repair of a bridge was authorized. New bridges over the Water of Leith and across the Forth at Kirkcaldy improved access to Fife, Perthshire and more northerly lands. These improved roadways

¹ See Chapter 7.

² RPC, 1st series, vol.10, pp.582, 555; RPC, 1st series, vol.11, p.179; RPC, 2nd series, vol.2, p.64.

provided the sinews of a new market network (Map 16.1) within which drovers had already by the 1620s established an active cattle trade provisioning both Lowland and English consumers.

In the latter part of that decade, the export bans interrupted the cattle supply to England, but not completely. An Aberdeenshire commentator reported to the Privy Council that “no beasts were available to local people because buyers from the Mearns, Angus, Fife and the counties south of Edinburgh had bought them up for sale to Englishmen”.³ Across the Forth from Fife, from Haddington, came the warning that between May and August 1627 above 2,000 beasts had been illegally transported through the county for sale in England. How representative this traffic at the Haddington market was is uncertain, yet the beasts there were in passage to an intricate Border market network (at Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Lanark and Dumfries) within which unlawful trade and similar market conditions prevailed, despite the presence of a ban on cattle exports. From Selkirk for instance came the comment that the regulations had prevented the English from coming into “geyf ane full pryce to the poore folk that hes grittest neit thairof while not preventing the transportatioun quhilk is maid contenuallie be some off the richest sorte”.⁴ Englishmen or Border lairds at this time continued to export large numbers of cattle to England. The total number of Scottish cattle exported annually during the early seventeenth century cannot be established with any certainty but the small number of surviving port-books would suggest a figure between 1,500 and 6,000 cattle. These came mainly from the wider Border region but were supplemented with supplies, which passed from Aberdeen southwards through Mearns, Angus and Fife to the counties south of Edinburgh.

³ Gibson, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.187-197.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

Map 16.1

Scottish Cattle Markets and Trade 1605-1655



Elsewhere in Scotland, however, cattle theft remained an endemic feature of everyday life, seriously impeding the development of a cattle trade. Particularly in the Highlands it was only slowly, during the 1620s, 1630s and early 1640s that the central government was able to impose its authority and displace local practices, which enshrined an almost ritualistic rieving. Commercial activity was largely confined at this time to the Lowland peripheries of the region. During lifting seasons, between the early summer migration to the shielings and late autumn gathering of the harvest, additional employment opportunities were opened up in these lowland peripheries as landlords hired the professional expertise of clan watches to protect themselves against cattle thieving. The watches usually consisted of 12 men who had a lot to gain and a lot to be responsible for. William Farquharson of Inveray, for example, was paid £5,000 Scots in equal monthly installments by the landed classes of Angus to protect their estates from the 1st of June to the 23rd of November of 1653.

The new cattle trade, with its appending markets and commercial infrastructure had been created during the years 1603-1655. Some 1,500-6,000 Scottish cattle passed annually from the Borders and the East Scottish Coast plain each year to England. In spite of the diminutive numbers involved (in comparison with later periods), however, the trade imposed intolerable pressures on those producing supplies within the resource base of the market network. Representatives of lords and lairds and urban consumers therein, although somewhat Anglo-phobic, were only too well aware of the precariousness of their position. Agriculture was periodically wracked by famine, in 1615-6, 1621-3 and 1629-31, which had dramatic effects not only on grain production but also on cattle rearing within the export supply network. The problem, in as far as it affected cattle rearers, may have been related to the dearth of grain when many young animals were either sold or slaughtered to provide cash and food. In the famine years accordingly, cattle/meat prices fell but subsequently rose for some three or four years as animal stocks were reduced whilst English demand was maintained. During such crises, farmers found draught-animals too expensive and consumers meat too dear. Their cries of anguish reached the ears of the government who responded by imposing bans on exports in 1615, 1626-1627 and 1646 but also, by attempting to resolve stock-depletion problems. The series of

export bans were accompanied by repeated proclamations against the slaughter of livestock. Further on, the Council in 1615-1617 and 1633 used Lent, the period of forty weekdays from Ash Wednesday to Easter, as a regulatory period during which slaughter of animals was forbidden, in order to increase livestock numbers.

Government and People alike thus displayed an awareness of the weaknesses of the agrarian sector. With good harvests, supplies of both grain and meat were such as to provide sufficient produce for domestic consumers at stable or slightly falling prices. Small amounts of grain and diminutive numbers of cattle, about 4,000-5,000 a year on average, for instance in 1618/9-1620/1, were exported. With harvest failure, however, prices rose dramatically and Scotland became a net importer of grain, whilst cattle exports fell to about 1,000-2,000 animals a year.

In such circumstances there was a positive response to alternative suppliers of this product. Thus Thomas Tucker in 1655, writing of Galloway, speaks of Portpatrick as having a trade with Ireland in horses and cattle. In the same year, another source records the customs levied on Irish livestock and merchandise. These amounted to £573 6s 8d Scots money (amounting to less than 1,000 cattle at best), in a year when the Alisonbank custom duties record only 1,050 Scottish cattle (and 6,000 sheep), en-route via the West March to England.

Scottish Exports to England, 1660-1707

Then in the 1660s, as yet unexplained changes in the agrarian base of the cattle trading system transformed the whole situation in ways clearly recognised by both the Government and People. 1646 marked the last imposition of a ban on Scottish cattle exports. After 1662, the government was not greatly concerned with resolving famine-induced stock depletion problems by the restriction of meat consumption. Its continuing policy of enforcing abstinence from meat during Lent had far more to do with encouraging the consumption of fish and the development of the Scottish fisheries. Throughout most of the late seventeenth century, Scottish consumers could acquire as many work-animals and as much meat as they required at basically stable prices. In part, as has been suggested, this was due to as yet unexplained changes in the agrarian base of the cattle trading system. Yet, it also resulted from the creation

of a new commercial infrastructure within which the cattle trade could develop as markets underwent a process of widening and deepening.

By the 1660s, the same sense of law and order and opportunities for trade that had prevailed for about half a century in the Borders began to be established across Scotland. A new sense of security prevailed at the markets and fairs, and most notably at the great Crieff tryst, established at this time, where drovers, who had passed in safety along new roadways and over new bridges, could conduct their business and raise necessary finance for their enterprises. By the early eighteenth century, an entry lists five hundred local markets all over Scotland (see Map 5.1). It is clear however that the main purpose of these smaller fairs was to sell cattle to drovers who subsequently sold them for profit in the main Lowland trysts of Crieff and Falkirk, or in England. Sales at the Crieff tryst were of large-scale proportions. By the early eighteenth century, over 20,000 cattle were sold annually at the Crieff and the Falkirk trysts. Drovers, not only from the Borders and the East Coast Plain but also now from Argyll, Mull and the Western Isles could have access to such markets, and conducted their business there (see Map 16.2). Similarly, drovers and cattle businessmen in the central Highland region and the North built on the local markets and infrastructure (see Map 5.1) and increasingly begun to satisfy more of the demand for livestock.⁵ The deals were arranged during the summer period. Farmers had fattened cattle as much as they could in summer shielings or rich pastures in home and wanted to get rid of a proportion of the livestock. They sometimes sold their cattle to the landlord (or clan chief) who subsequently sold them to the drover. But whether it was the landlord or the farmer who sold directly to the drover, the latter rarely had ready money, and so he had to buy on credit. When he would secure his finances and gather the cattle, the drover transferred them to the Lowland or English markets. From then on, Lowlanders or Englishmen sometimes further fattened the livestock, or made it ready for slaughter and consumed the beef.

By 1707, the total amount of coin in circulation was not more than £200,000 Sterling and money was scarce. Hume Brown estimated it at only £60,000 in copper, £60,000 in silver and £30,000 in gold, or £150,000 Sterling. The form of a written

⁵ Evidence on the economic activity of the mainland Highlands and the North appears less frequently among the earlier historical records, but these regions did play a significant role, especially from the second half of the 18th century.

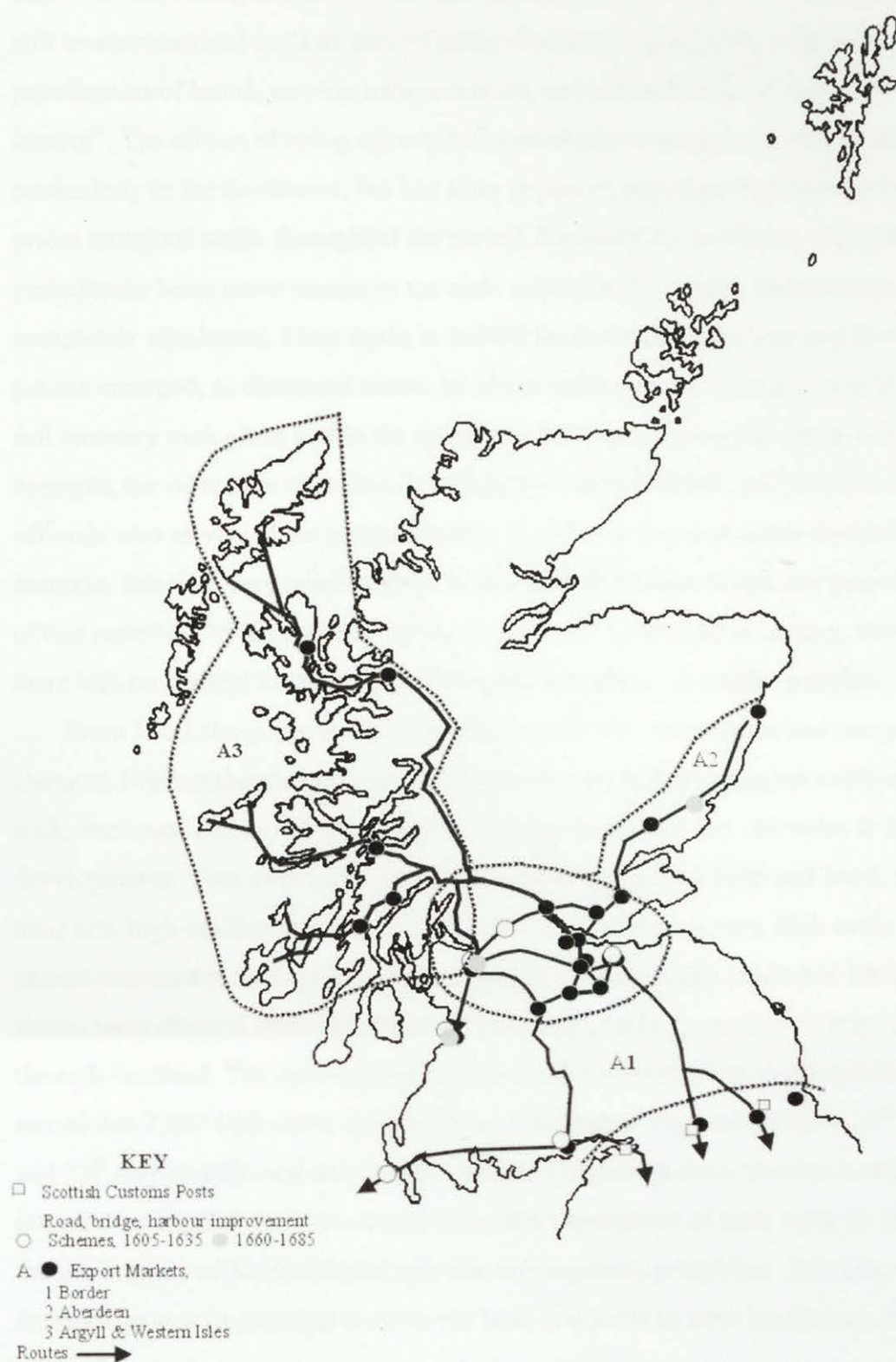
promise to pay the bill-of-exchange was the most popular method of payment during this period. These notes (subsequently replaced by bank notes) became essentially the currency utilized within the market network. They changed many hands and sometimes were not paid for a long time.

Like banks in later years, mercantile houses, from the seventeenth century, financed the trade. From these merchant houses, the drover obtained a letter of credit as well as some stock of cash. The English were well aware of this situation, and they reported how the procurement of promissory notes took place, usually in Edinburgh; different sums were payable at some distance of time, when the drover expected to have finished his round and collected all the cattle he wanted to purchase. After credit had been secured and cattle were purchased, the drover picked up all the cattle he had managed to buy, and drove them to the Lowland markets or England. This was a long journey and before the eighteenth century, when law and order was not fully established all throughout Scotland, it could also be a dangerous undertaking. But it was not as much so as to prevent Scottish cattle exports increasing markedly. In an average year between 1660 and 1707, about 30,000 Scottish cattle passed through the Border customs posts to England (see Figure 11.1) and in good years that figure reached 40,000 or more.⁶ During this period, it appears that concerns about the scarcity of agricultural products were a thing of the past. From the second part of the 17th century, protectionist policies were frequently implemented in peripheral sectors or other parts of the economy, but the discussion about livestock centered on how to increase and encourage exports, not restrict them. Due to changes in the agrarian base of the economy, not yet completely understood, as well as the documented creation of a new commercial infrastructure, the position of both Scottish consumers and cattle exporters in the 1660s had been transformed in comparison to the situation 30 years earlier.

⁶ “Official” figures were increased by 30% to account for illegal droving, which according to many contemporaries was of such large proportions.

Map 16.2

Scottish Cattle Markets and Trade, 1660-1745



In spite of these dramatic changes, however, it would be totally anachronistic to regard the years, 1660-1707 as marking a complete break with the past. The commercial infrastructure might have undergone a process of considerable improvement during this time, yet at the beginning of the eighteenth century it could still be characterised as “a mosaic of partly disconnected markets, with local peculiarities of breed, varying transport costs, and sometimes local non-competitive control”. The effects of rising exports influenced prices strongly in the Borders and particularly in the Southwest, but had little impact in Argyll or Aberdeen where prices remained stable throughout the period. Similarly the problems, which had periodically beset cattle rearers in the early seventeenth century, had not been completely eliminated. Once again in 1697/8 famine stalked the land and the same pattern emerged, as discussed above, in which cattle prices eventually rose before full recovery took place within the space of a few years. From 1697/8 to 1701 for example, the Aberdeen valuation of ox beef carcasses doubled, and English customs officials who re-valued the prices of cattle exported to England again mentioned an increase, this time very considerable, from £12 to £22 Scots in just one year. In spite of this repetition of the endemic problems of the early-seventeenth century, however, there was no attempt in government circles to re-institute its earlier policies.

From 1660, the government’s attitude towards the cattle trades had completely changed. Feeling that the popular consumption of meat and a buoyant cattle-export trade were now secure, its objective became the removal of any obstacles to these developments. Thus even as Scottish cattle exports, between 1656 and 1664, rose to their new high-equilibrium level of 40,000-60,000 animals a year, Irish cattle also passed eastward in increasing numbers. Possibly 50,000 cattle (and over 100,000 sheep) were shipped from Ireland at this time and a large proportion of them passed through Scotland. The custom books of the Border custom point at Alisonbank record that 7,287 Irish cattle marched from Scotland to England between 30th May and 13th July of 1666 and only 1,045 Scottish. Concerned about the above large-scale imports, the English Parliament prohibited the importation of Irish cattle in 1664 and the importation of Scottish cattle was also subsequently prohibited. This ban was not designed to stop imports but to force the Irish and Scots to send lean beasts to

England. The number of Irish and Scottish exports did not decrease significantly but landowners were forced to send their beasts earlier than they would have liked. The ban was superseded by a complete ban on the importation of cattle from Ireland and other places overseas-but not Scotland- taking effect from 1667. The Scots similarly prohibited the importation of Irish cattle from 1667 to gain from this policy and be the sole exporters of cattle to England. The first proclamation, which prohibited the importation of cattle from Ireland, was passed in 1667 and, save for a brief interval in 1679-1681, remained in force throughout the period covered by this thesis. The government's argument for its imposition was that the commodities to be prohibited were goods that could be provided within Scotland, and naturally the latter was the priority when it came to reaping the benefits of trade. Sure that Scottish cattle could provide for both the popular consumption of meat and a buoyant cattle-export trade, the Scottish government's objective was to eliminate competition.

Similarly, as has been shown, already by the 1660s, Edinburgh merchant-houses had become heavily involved in financing the cross-border cattle trades. Border drovers were able at that time to draw bills on Edinburgh merchant houses which would be settled when they received cash from English dealers for the animals they delivered to them. The 1680s however saw this system shaken to its very foundations, causing great concern to the government, as from ca 1680- ca 1691 the cattle trade declined, some 15,000-25,000 beasts being exported annually. The drovers at this time did not return English money as they had in previous times but instead they sold it to Scottish wine merchants (the latter answered with it their French bills at London), while the drovers took bills upon Scotland. The cash received there provided the funding (reduced by the costs of a double-exchange) for the next round of cattle purchases, which perforce had to be reduced in size. These impediments to the previously buoyant cattle trade caused great concern in government circles but in spite of the establishment of committees to enquire into the matter, little could be done and only in the late 1690s was this situation gradually resolved and then through free-market institutions. The livestock and especially Scottish cattle trade at the East Anglia and London markets was particularly lucrative and attracted several Scottish bankers who were based in England. Their activities involved attending the East Anglia markets and using bills of exchange, which were

negotiable in London and Edinburgh, to purchase bank notes. They would then organise the transportation of the goods to be marketed in Scotland and also used the bank notes bought at the markets to finance loans there, mostly in the autumn and summer. Revenues and repayments were collected not long after, between June and November, resulting in a high turnover and growth of funds. After the beginning of the eighteenth century, banks increased their involvement in the droving market in the form of such loans and, as a result, enjoyed profits that were high enough to balance any losses generated by the official money exchange market.

Even as these institutional changes were taking place, however, as has been shown, a famine-induced crisis during the years 1697/8-1701 threw the cattle export trade into turmoil. The effects of this were compounded, moreover, when in 1705 the English threatened to forfeit cattle exported from Scotland unless a Union was agreed. Whether the ban was actually imposed does not really matter for contemporaries believed it might be and the market collapsed. Prices of cattle fell during the years 1702-1709 to £8 Scots (a fall of 33.3 per cent) and exports, already falling, appear to have been further reduced. The Scottish government could do but little in this situation to reverse the market during the adjustment period. A decade earlier, and for the thirty years previously, from 1660 to 1690, Scotland had achieved a high-level equilibrium by exporting under normal circumstances around 40,000-60,000 beasts. But the eighteenth century entered, 1699-1709, in crisis conditions.

Continuation of the Pre-existing Pattern in the Early Eighteenth Century

However the difficulties appear to have been temporary. After the first quarter of the eighteenth century, all the concerns, disputes and political arguments concerning the Union must have seemed a long time away. No discernible changes in the prices of cattle had occurred. English officials at the end of seventeenth and first years of the eighteenth century valued cattle from £12 to £20 Scots a head, and fifty years later, cattle prices ranged in similar figures, although it was more often that they reached £20 Scots a head than £12. The cattle-export trade drawing on supplies from within the pre-existing commercial system, which still embraced not only the Borders and the East Coast Plain but also Argyll, Mull and the Western Isles,

continued much as before. Following the crisis occasioned by the English ban, the trade recovered from 1706 rising slowly to the pre-crisis level of some 60,000 animals before increasing to a new high level equilibrium of some 80,000 animals a year in 1751.

Finally, it is important to note the apparent concentration of the most of the revenues of the cattle trade in the hands of few businessmen/families, which controlled the majority of exports. Throughout the period under consideration here, it was specialised estates, mainly in the Southwest, which fed the overwhelming majority of cattle. Local entrepreneurs had converted huge expanses of land for this purpose and were buying cattle available from the wider region around where they had based their operations. The owners of the pasture lands were actively pursuing higher profits by implementing agricultural improvements and specialising their knowledge and resources in the industry.

POSTSCRIPT. The Great Leap in the Cattle Trades from Mid-Eighteenth Century

Long-run stability did not characterise, however, the second part of the eighteenth century, the period which has attracted the attention of most historians studying the Scottish and Highland cattle trade. Insatiable English demand for meat caused prices to rise markedly. The Melville estates in Fife show prices clearly rising from the late 1730s, and through the 1740s and early 1750s. In Knockbuy, price growth starts from the 1740s. The St Andrew's beef prices grew by one half between 1750-3 and 1760-3 and they had doubled from their initial rate, three to four years later. After reaching this peak, one can observe that figures slowly fell again but still they were much higher than the pre-1750 level. John Ramsay of Ochertyre in Stirlingshire, wrote of his memories around 1760 and he recalled that the traditional price for the best Highland cows, (sold after having been fattened) was about £16 Scots, a figure, which after 1747 suddenly reached £21 and £24 Scots. Partly this can be explained by the cattle disease in the south of England (and perhaps the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion), but the fact remains that prices had increased dramatically. The same kind of cattle were sold at £30 -£33 Scots by 1760, but five to ten years

later they were selling for £40-48 Scots. He continues: “though there were various tips and downs in the course of the next ten or twelve years, prices never fell so low as preceding 1766, nor rose as high as in that and the three following years”. The accounts from Buchanan farm in Stirlingshire also confirm his writings. A huge leap occurred around 1770 when prices reached from £40-£60 Scots to a new level of £75-£100 Scots. But as discussed above, the Buchanan farm along with a selected few specialised farms (such as the Park estate in Wigtownshire) were rather atypical of the period. They were developing much faster than the rest of Scotland. The Knockbuy records (in Argyll) indicate a much smaller increase at this time, and in many parts of Scotland, prices had begun to marginally fall. Also the Buchanan high prices usually refer to stots (which were usually destined for droving and fattening) in contrast to milk cows or oxen (which had a more stable and uniform price). Adam Smith wrote in the *Wealth of Nations* that the price of Highland cattle had tripled since the early eighteenth century and this was a fair comment. He believed that Scotland had profited from the Union in many ways, but it was the higher cattle prices and the accompanied higher Scottish income that was the major boost to improve the country. Prices, moreover, continued to increase at the end of the eighteenth century, when they reached quite unprecedented levels.

Scottish drovers responded eagerly to the new situation, drawing new supplies from within an extended trade network, which in the aftermath of the '45 penetrated for the first time deep into the Highlands. A burgeoning volume of livestock now passed to the Falkirk tryst, which since the mid-century had displaced Crieff. The Falkirk tryst was held twice a year but after the decline of Crieff it was held in August, September and October; the October fair was the biggest as farmers had fattened their cattle as much as possible and wanted to dispose them before the next winter. Falkirk had been a regular tryst before the eighteenth century but it was in the second half of the eighteenth century, however, that trade there reached significant heights. In 1772 one estimate put the cattle sold in Falkirk at about 24,000 and another estimate in 1777, gives a similar figure of about 30,000. The latter number applied to cattle sold throughout the season (including all three fairs). At the times of the *Statistical Accounts*, 20,000 to 30,000 cattle were sold in October alone and the author of the *Agricultural Report of Stirlingshire* in 1812 puts the number of cattle

sold in the October tryst between 25,000 and 40,000. But the first and second fairs were much smaller; 5,000 to 6,000 cattle were sold in the first tryst and 15,000 cattle in the second. According to another record, in Falkirk, in 1792, 60,000 cattle of the Highland breed alone were sold at a price of £4 Sterling while those bred on turnips (of Aberdeenshire etc) were sold at £25 Sterling each (although the latter sounds like an exaggerated estimate). In 1794, a parish minister estimated that 60,000 cattle in total were sold in Falkirk (at the same average price of £4 Sterling a head).⁷ By the closing years of the Napoleonic wars, the number of stock sold each autumn in Falkirk was estimated around 50,000 cattle (and 50,000 sheep). Prices had also risen by then and the valuation of the traded livestock (sheep included) was about £500,000 Sterling. In 1827, a report talks of a total number of 130,000 cattle (and 200,000 sheep) that changed hands at the second and third Falkirk markets.⁸ In 1846, the number of cattle sold in Falkirk was estimated at 150,000. After the first quarter of the nineteenth century, however, a steady and rapid decline took place and in 1901 Falkirk was officially closed down. In one of Falkirk's dying flickers, 15,000 cattle were sold in the October tryst of 1880.

Exports of Scottish cattle to England followed a similar course in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Already after a decade of expansion, as has been shown, in ca 1750 exports at about 80,000 animals a year were far higher than at any point in the seventeenth century. Thereafter for some forty years, exports fluctuated around this new high equilibrium level, before once again increasing to 100,000 in the 1790s and 120,000 in the 1800s. Insatiable English demand for meat allowed Scottish drovers to supply a burgeoning number of animals to that market at ever increasing prices. Fears that competition from Ireland would cause a fall in prices and damage the Scottish trade were still expressed in 1758/9. As in the late seventeenth century, Scottish cattle dealers wanted to avoid the situation in which Scottish and Irish cattle would compete for the English demand. Yet, when in that year the English Parliament decided to allow the import of Irish beasts, their worst fears were not realised. England could absorb all the Irish, Scottish (and Welsh) cattle despatched to it. William Marshall in his *The Rural Economy of the Midlands*

⁷ Cameron, *Our greatest Highland drover : John Cameron "Corrychoillie"*, pp.96-98.

⁸ Haldane, *The drove roads of Scotland.*, pp.219-221.

Counties and Rural Economy of Yorkshire writes in 1788, that the Irish supply of cattle was detained by east winds two years earlier and Yorkshire grazing grounds were in danger of under-stocking.⁹ Both in the winter floods of 1762 and 1770-1771, when lean stock died because of a dry summer which caused shortage of fodder, cattle were urgently needed from wherever they could be obtained. It seems in retrospect, that in the late eighteenth century the fear of importing Irish cattle was unfounded. After 1780, when the ban finally ended, exports of Irish cattle through Scotland were considerable. In 1780, Portpatrick possessed six vessels of 50 tons each, which shipped cattle from Ireland. The *Statistical Accounts* of South-western parishes record the imports of 55,000 cattle between 1786 and 1790. This averages more than 10,000 annually, a figure consistent with that of the author of the *General View of the Agriculture of Dumfries* in 1794.¹⁰ According to the *Statistical Accounts*, in 1790, 17,275 cattle arrived at Portpatrick while in 1812 this number had reached 20,000. In spite of such significant numbers of animals passing from Ireland through Scotland to England, prices did not fall and although the Irish supply was considerable, its effect on the Scottish revenues from the cattle trade does not seem very significant.

The years ca. 1740- ca 1840, which have attracted the attention of most historians studying the Scottish cattle trades, thus form a distinct and unique period in the history of this particular branch of commerce. Trade boomed, the number of animals passing to the English market rose to a peak of some 120,000 a year in the 1800s or a figure 2-3 times greater than at any time in the period covered by this thesis, 1605-1745. Moreover, these animals were obtained from a supply-network, which had begun to penetrate deep into the Highlands only in the aftermath of the '45. The Scottish drover of the years, ca. 1740- ca 1840 thus operated in a very different world from that of his predecessors. It would therefore, as this thesis has shown, be inappropriate to project, as many historians have, the situation prevailing in this era backwards in time to 1603-1745.

⁹ Anon., "Some 18th Century Scottish Opinions on the Importation of Irish Cattle into Great Britain." *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, XVIII, 3 (1935), pp.236-242.

¹⁰ *The new statistical account of Scotland* (Portpatrick), vol. IV, p.152; *The Statistical account of Scotland 1791-1799*, vol. I, p.43; Handley, J. E., *Scottish farming in the eighteenth century*, pp.225-229.

Conclusion

To summarise the findings of this thesis, it is clear that the cattle trade grew to significant proportions from mid-17th century, after a period in which a market infrastructure was established and relative peace in the Border regions of Scotland was ensured. During the first part of the 17th century, livestock shortages and famines repeatedly plagued the Scottish countryside, so the Privy Council followed protectionist policies to secure the local supply. Yet, from the 1660s Scotland managed to export more than 30,000 cattle yearly, a figure, which seems to apply until the 1740s, before reaching new highs. Cattle prices fluctuated during that period, depending on seasonal factors and shortages as well as political turmoil, but ultimately remained at constant levels until the mid-18th century. It was mainly land-owning businessmen in the Southwest who had specialised in the cattle business and who accounted for the larger part of the trade. The Highlands in particular, despite their gradual pacification in the 17th and early 18th centuries, appear to have played a significant role only in a later period.

Moreover, the fear that Ireland's competition to supply meat to England was detrimental to the Scottish economy seems, in retrospect, exaggerated; England appears to have absorbed more cattle than the Scots could supply. There is also evidence to suggest that the credit economy, which allowed the cattle business to take place, led not only to many bankruptcies and instability but also to a currency crisis.

It is important to note that many of the above findings (as they are discussed in detail in individual chapters) lead to the conception of more questions, and therefore the possibilities for more research. First, an attempt could be made to incorporate the cattle trade into a more general framework, under which the cattle business would be related to other trades and branches of the economy. A section of the pamphlet literature in the National Library of Scotland consists of useful sources, which could help towards this, as they contain many insights, opinions and

arguments on more general contemporary issues. Admittedly, many of these records apply to a later period, but there are also a number of pamphlets on the Union as well as on agricultural processes and circumstances. Information on the latter could fill the gaps on the crucial changes in the agricultural base of the economy that allowed such significant change in the livestock trade from 1630 to 1660.

Moreover, further research is needed to explain the credit process and currency crisis, as explained in chapter 6, as well as their consequences. Sources in England might help towards establishing an unofficial exchange rate (which could be roughly used as a reference point), as well as to explain the situation of the Scottish bankers and businessmen in London. A study, which would attempt to estimate the balance of trade with England and France, could come up with very useful insights but, as with the case of the exchange rate, it is doubtful whether sources can allow for sufficiently reliable and valid conclusions.

Further on, more research could determine finer regional and local trends, issues for which the absence of available evidence is apparent. Burgh records were briefly examined for the purposes of this thesis, in order to discover toll figures which in turn could reveal the extent (or fluctuations) of cattle traffic on certain lands. A few individual and obscure references were found among this substantial set of records, but it was felt that they could not be meaningfully incorporated here. A more systematic approach is needed to collect these figures, which in combination with further data from other sources may be able to describe the cattle traffic of specific regions or counties.

The “Gifts and Deposits” as well as the “National Register of Archives” records in the “National Archives of Scotland” can also be extremely useful in clarifying issues on a variety of topics in the near future. The staff at the “National Archives of Scotland” have been indexing over the last years a vast set of archives lying at their disposal or at private hands, a process which is still going on. These archives can be particularly useful in relation to the situation of cattle traders and circumstances at a local level.

Finally, further research could expand the scope of this thesis to a later period, up until the first quarter of the 18th century which witnessed an abrupt decline of the trade in live animals. Although there are no comprehensive sources to cover

the period from 1740 to 1790, a significant effort can be made to collect evidence from a variety of sources in order to investigate this crucial period, which saw significant further growth of the cattle trade. After that, the two Statistical Accounts of Scotland contain valuable information on the agriculture, economy and society of individual parishes, and a lot of references on the livestock business can be found. It would be extremely useful to build with the above sources on the present study in order to explain a trade, which featured so prominently in the economic and social life of Scotsmen during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1: 1605 Privy Council Article about Policy and Order in the Borders

(From RPC, 1st Series, vol. 7, pp.743-745, 1605)

Suggestions for the better government of the Middle March and for preservation of peace therein.

45. " ARTICLES CONCERNING THE MIDDLE SHYRES.

It is requisite that some ordour be taken with the idle youthes that are 1605 (?). in those partes, being the seminarie of the, &c.; and that this maye be the better done it wilbe a greate help that commanndment be geven that no Bordour man of any broken name shall parte his rowmes or steiding amangst his children without advise of two of the Commissionaris, but all to goe to the eldest, and the rest, who have nothing to live upoun sufficiently, to be transported whither his Majestic and the Counsell thinkes fitt.

It is meete that justice courtis be kept for trying and punishing of theaves and there ressetters fower tymes at least every yeare in such places as the Commissioners shall think fitt, and that proclamation be made at the head burgh of the shrye and at the place of there meeting for bringing in of dittay.

That none of the Bordour that ar knowne to be of broken clanries shall ryde with any kynde of invasive weapon, under the paine of an hundreth poundes, to be uplifted from the contraveyner to his Majesties use, as also the imprisonment of his or there bodies for a yeare.

Also, in regard the number of the alehouses is too greate, it is necessarie that they be redactit to a fewer number, and that such as keepes them be chosen of the honestest men, and shall finde caution for there good behaviour, and that such as they give intertēynment unto shall behave themselves modestly in all companies, and that the Commissioners at next meeting shall appointe the number of alehouses, priviledge such as they allow, of whom they shall tak suertie for there good behaviour, and discharge all others.

That there shalbe some appointed to rype and search in every parish (there number to be according to the quantitie of the parish and of the honestest sorte), who shalbe bound to rype everie fiftein dayes betwixt Midsomer and Christmasse at least, and everie moneth all the rest of the yeare, and furder so oft as ony man requyres them thereto: whiche searchers and rypers shalbe sworne by the Commissioners or justices of peace to reveale what they finde Upon there oath.

Furder, that there shalbe certane sworne men in every parish, according to the discretion of the Commissioners, who shalbe oblised upon there oathes to delate and give up all suche as are suspected of theft or ressett of theft or any evill demeanour, nor that have no sufficient trade whereby to mainteyn themselves, to the effect that ordour may be taken with such idle persons as effeiris.

Item, no Bordour man of any broken name shall have nor keepe horse nor meire of greater pryce then thretty poundes Scottis, and that they shall not presume to ryde

upon any saddle, but onely upon soddies, except such as may spend, in heritage, takkis, or fewis, five hundreth markes Scottis by yeare.

In respect that sundrie of our Borderers goe parte into England, parte into the in cuntry of Lowthiane, parte into Nidisdale and into Galloway, and there doe mak purposes and drawe draughtes to noble and gentlemens geire, it were good that it might not be lawfull to any who lies bene knowne of a broken lyfe to be absent from his owne house 48 howers together without license obteyned of the Commissioners or justices of peace, and that he notifie unto them that his earand is lawfull and just, and how soone he is to returne, and that the contraveynour heirof shall paye to his Majestie fortie pounds and himself imprisoned for three moneths.

That the Deputie of Ireland be sent unto that no Bordour man be receaved there, without a warrant under some of the Commissioners hands or justices of peace, and that, if any Bordour man that is in Ireland alreddy be to come home, he be directed by the Deputie to some of the Commissioners or justices of peace, to the effect that during his abode here caution maye be taken for his good behaviour.

That suche as are dryvers of sheape and nolt laye in band to the Commissioners that they shall buye no geire frome anie but such as are answerable to his Majesties lawes, under the paine of confiscation of his whole drifte to his Majesties use.

That in every parish there may be some lurgg dogges kept, one or moe, according to the quantitie of the parish, for following of pettie stouthes.

That it maye be lawfull to any man to give saifare for speiring of his goodis or geir stollen, provyding it does not excede the double of the availle of the goods stollen; whiche saifare is to be taken of the reddiest of there goods who shalbe convict of these stouthes, or of the ressett of the stollen goodes.

It shalbe lawfull to any man to tak redresse of the goodes and geir sbollen from him, provyding he doe first acquainte any one of the Commissioners therewith, unto whome he shall binde himself under a pecuniall some that after redres ones taken he shall persew the partie criminally from whome he had the redres.

That none be of the Garde but such as the Captaine of the Gard salbe answerable for that they are not guiltie either of theft or ressett of theft since the happie Union of the two kingdomes.

The Captaine of the Garde not to tak ony man but such as either are fugitives and outlawes, or els unto whome he sail furnish dittay.

That suretie be taken of the wydowes of all theaves and ressetters who have bene executed that they shall not ressett any fugitives nor give them supplye.

And, becaus all thinges cannot occur to memorie for the present, and many things will result that is not now remembred, it may please his Majestie to wryte to the Lord Chancellour and Counsell to advyse with the Bordour Commissioners that such formes may be sett downe as are agreable to the fundamentall lawes of the cuntry for preservation of peace therein."

APPENDIX 2: 1615 Example of Proclamation Against the Slaughter of Livestock

(From RPC, 1st Series, vol. 10, pp.312-313)

Proclamation against the slaughter of lambs.

" Forsamekle as it hes bene the goode pleasour of God to visite this cuntrie thir divers monethis bigane with suche a continewing storme of froist, snaw, rayne, and wind that the most pairt of the bestiall and goodis of the cuntrey ar outhere deade or become so feble and waik that thay ar not able ony lang tyme to indure, sua that, yf some cair be not had for the preservatioun of lambis this yeir, and for staying the transporte of nolt and sheip in England, it is verie liklie that scairslie will thair be had ony goodis to plenneis the ground, and the few remanent that salbe left in the cuntrie wilbe haldin at suche extraordinair and heigh prices as is not to be sufferit in a weeel governit commonwelth: quhilk inconvenient being foirseene be the Lordis of Secreit Counsell, thay for preventing thair of have thocht meete and expedient, and hes concludit, commandit, and ordanit, that thair salbe ane universall foirbearance of the slaughter of lambis throughoute this haill kingdome for this present yeir; and lykeways that the haill bestiall and goodis of the cuntrie, suche as nolt and scheip, salbe haldin within the same, and noways transportit to England [nor] els whair. And, whereas the contempt of the law in eating of fleshe in tyme [of Lentrone], and upoun Wednisdayis, Frydayis, and Satterdayis, will gritlie forder [the grite] scairstie and derthe of fleshe, yf the contempt of thir personis who . . . and without modestie preferis the delicat feeding of thair bellyis [to his Majesteis] obedyence and the commounweele be not restranit and punist, [the saidis Lo]rdishes thairfoir lykeways resolvitand concludit to punishe all [suche personis] as sail offend in this cause without respect or favour. And for this effect ordanis letteris to be direct to [command], charge, and inhibite all and sindrie his Majesteis liegeis and subjectis, be oppiñ p[ro]clamatioun at the mercatt croceis of the heade burrowis of this realme and otheris places needfull, that nane of thame presome nor tak upoun hand to buy for slaughter, nor to slay or eate, ony lambes this present yeir, nor yitt to transporte ony nolt or sheip in England, upoun whatsomevir cullour or pretens, undir the pane of confiscatioun of the haill movable goodis of the personis contravenaris heirof to his Majesteis use, —certifeing thame that failyeis or sail do in the contrair heirof that thair saidis movable goodis salbe confiscat, esheit, and inbrought to his Majesteis use. And siclike to command, charge and inhibite all and sindrie his Majesteis saidis liegeis that nane of thame presome or tak upoun hand to eate fleshe during this forbiddin tyme of Lentrone, nor upoun Wednisdayis, Frydayis, and Satterdayis, under the panes contenit in the formair actis and proclamationis maid heiranent, whilkis panes salbe upliftit of the contravenaris without favour; as alsua to command and charge all and sindrie magistratis to burgh and land that thay and everyone of thame, within thair awne boundis, officeis and jurisdictioun, haif a speciall cair and regaird, and caus diligent attendance be gevin, that this present ordinance and proclamatioun be preceislie observit and kept within thair saidis boundis, and that thay suffer, oversie, nor allow no brek nor violatioun of the same, bot that thay

cairfullie and diligentlie examine, speir, and trye whair and be whome thair salhappin to be ony suche violatioun, and that thay notifie thair names to his Majesteis Thesaurair Depute, to the effect thay may be callit, persewit, and punist, according to the tennour of this present proclamatioun,—as the saidis magistratis to burgh and [land] will answer to his Majestie and the saidis Lordis upoun the dewtifull discharge of thair offices. And, whereas it is understand to the saidis Lordis that divers . . . and beggarlie people, suche as coikis, oistlaris, and flesheouris, will . . . and brek this proclamatioun, whose esheatis ar so meane and unworthie [that the] same is not a punishment sufficient and dew to thair offence, . . . thairfoir the saidis Lordis hes declairit and ordanit that [all suche] beggarlie people who salhappin to offend in the premisis salbe [punist] in thair be warding and otherwaves at the arbit[riment of the saidis Lordis]."

APPENDIX 3: 1626 Example of some of the Discussions and Arguments found in the Privy Council Records about Protectionism vs. Free Trade
(From RPC, 2nd Series, vol. 1, pp.276-277)

Two Letters from his Majesty to the Council anent petitions he has received from Edinburgh, for itself and in name of the other Burghs, against export of certain goods and concerning other matters.

" The whilk day Sir George Hay of Kinfawnis, knight, Lord Heigh Chancellour of Scotland, praesentit and exhibite befor the Lordis of Secreit Counsell the tua missive letteris underwritin, of the whilkis the tennour followis : —CHARLES R.—Eight truistie and welbeloved counsellour, right truistie and welbeloved cosens and counsellouris, right truistie and welbeloved counsellouris, and truistie and welbeloved counsellouris, we greete you well.—Whairas we haif bene petitioned by the towne of Edinburgh, for thameselffis and in name of the remanent Burrowis, that the Actis of Parliament aganis transportatioun of forbiddin goodes be put in executioun and licences for dispensing with the same be dischargit, that the custome imposed upoun victuall that is broght within the cuntrey be likewayes discharged, and that thay may haif letteris of marque gran tit unto thame aganis the commounemie whairby thay may repaire some pairt of thair lossis and preserve thameselffis from further damage, we doe consave thair demandis to be reasounable and according to our lawes. And thairfore our pleasure is that you by Act of Counsell discharge the transportatioun of all goodes forbiddin to be transported by Actis of Parliament and all licenceis grantit to the contrarie; whicke course we will haif to continew and generallie to stand goode, saif onlie in so far as you salbe warranted by directioun from us concerning ony particular persone or personis to the contrarie. And also that you discharge all custome imposed upoun victuall importit within the cuntrey, and to this effect that you cause mak publict proclamatioun heirof to all our leiges at the mercatt croceis of the free burrowis and placeis accustomed. And, whairas we haif bene moved in name of the saidis Burrowis, in regaird of the course that is consulted upoun for raiseing of moneyis within thatoure kingdome (if the samine salhappin to be raised), that in that cause our whole subjectis thair may haif

delyverit bak at the nixt terme thairafter suche moneyis at the like value as wer gevin furth at first by thame: though this course seame unto us to be laughfull, being conforme to Actis of Parliament maid concerning the same, yit we wold not determine of ony thing thairin without your advise; and thairfore our further pleasure is that, after due considderatioun of this thair demand, you tak suche course thairin as you sail find to be best for the publict goode and thair satisfaction!!. And, whairas thay haif desired from us letteris of marque, we doe not onlie require you to grant the samine unto thame, bot to all otheris our subjectis in generall who sail demand the samine ; provyding that you first sie thair interests, and not onlie tak thair assurance for doing of suche thingis as thay ar to performe, according to the custome in the like caises, bot also for thair prosecuting of the samine. For doing whair of these prresentis salbe unto you a sufficient warrand. So we bid you farewell.—From our Court at Whitehall the 20 of Februar 1626.—CHARLES E.—

Eight truistie and welbeloved couisellour, right truistie and welbeloved cosens and counsellouris, and truistie and welbeloved counsellouris, we greete you well.—

Whairas, at the humble sute of our burgh of Edinburgh for thameselffis and in name of the rest of the Burrowis, we wer pleased to write unto you that no imposit could be imposed upoun victuall broght within that our kingdome ; whiche course (as we ar informed) being groundit upoun Actis of Parliament maid concerning the same, we did consave to be verie reasounable, not onlie for preventing of scairstie whiche hathe of late occasioned grite mortalitie amongis the poorer sort of people thair, bot for the better furnisheing our armeis which we intend to sett furth both by sea and land: yit, hearing how that purpois wes treated of at the last Conventioun of the Estaittis thair, and that commissionaris out of thame wer maid choise of to this effect, bot did not tak the wished end, we desire to heir from you upoun what groundis and how far thay proceedit thairin. Thairfore our pleasure is, haveing informed yourselffis by thame what is fund fitt to be done heirin that you certine the samine bak unto us, that we may thairafter proceed as we in our judgement sail think most expedient. So we bid you farewell.—Whitehall the eight of Marche, 1626."

APPENDIX 4: 1626 Consultation of the Council with Nobles and Commissioners about Export Prohibition
 (From RPC, 2nd Series, vol. 1, pp.270-280)

Consultation of the Council with some of the Nobles, and with Commissioners from a number of the Shires and Commissioners from the Burghs, on the questions of restraint of export of certain commodities, free import of others, &c., respecting which there has been recent correspondence with his Majesty ; with report by the Council to his Majesty of the conclusions arrived at on the several questions so discussed.

" The whilk day compeirit the Earlis of Eothes, Cassillis, and Kinghome, the Lordis Eoss, Loudoun, and Balmerinloch, the Commissionaris of the Small Baronis of the shirefdomes of Edinburgh, Hadingtoun, Bervick, Roxburgh, Peiblis, Drumfreis, Linlithgow, Striviling, Air, Fyffe, Perth, Forfar, Kincarne, Abirdene, with the Commissionaris for the whole Burrowis of this kingdome, and that for obedience of

the missive letteris direct unto thame from the Lordis of the Secreit Counsell for conferring and ressoning upoun the propositioun maid be the Burrowis unto the Kingis Majestie anent a generall restreant of exportatioun of forbiddin goodes and the free importatioun of forreyne victuall without payment of custome —The Commissionaris for the Burrowis being demandit if thay wald stand to the generalitie of his Majesties letter directit to his Counsell anent the restreant of exportatioun of all forbiddin .goodes without any limitatioun or reservatioun, thay declaired that, although thay acknowledged that the towne of Edinburgh had a generall warrand from thame to propone unto his Majestie and his Counsell what upoun sudden occurrentis might be fund necessarie for preventing the prejudice of the Burrowis, yit thay judged the generall restreant of exportatioun of forbiddin goodes be Actis of Parliament was not expedient for the cuntrey, nor to be execute bot upoun verie considerable respectis, as the plentie or scaircitie of the cuntrey commodities might offer reasonis of prohibitioun or libertie.—And, whairas the transport of vittail, woll, nolt, sheepe, and coale wer the speciall poyntis the Burrowis stode at, it is agreed with mutuall consent that his Majestie salbe humblie petitioned to permitt that exportatioun of vittail may be free to all gentle men and burgessis who formarlie wer permitted to transport vittail to do the like heiraiter upoun the conditionis following: to witt, to transport wheate whill the boll thairof come to fourtene merkis, to transport beare whill the boll thairof come to ellevin nierkis, and to transport meale and aittis whill the boll thairof come to eight merkis; after whilk tyme that thair be 110 exportatioun at all.—And, toucheing the fredome of importatioun of vittail, it is agreed that ry salbe freeleie imbroght at all tymes without payment of custome, with conditioun that the imbringaris find caution to his Majesties Counsell that thay sail keepe and girnell the same, and not vent and sell the same in the cuntrey whill the pryceis of the cuntrey victuall foirsaid come to the sowmes respective abonewritin; and, how soone the cuntrey vittail comes to the pryceis foirsaidis, that then, and no otherwayes, the importatioun of all sortis of forreyne vittail salbe free, provyding that the same be sauld to the subjectis and be not kept in girnellis after harvest.—Anent the transport of woll, nolt and sheepe, the Lordis of Secreit Counsell ordanis the justiceis of peace within the several sherifdomes of this kingdome to send in to the Clerk of Counsell yeirly befor the tuentie day of August ane true report in write under thair handis what hes bene the ordinair pryce of woll, oxin, cattell, and sheepe of all sortis at the particular mercattis within the boundis of thair office fra the beginning of May to the day of thair meeting at thair quarter sessioun upoun the first Tuisday of August yeirly. And the saidis Lordis will informe thame selffis by the best tiyall thay can mak what hes bene the commoun pryce of woll in Edinburgh and elswhair these tuelff yeiris bigane, to the intent thay may accordinglie tak ordour for publisheing the reulis of restreant or transport of commodities of that kynd upoun payment of custome without any forder charge.—And, anent the coale, it is ordanit, with consent of the awnaris, that the naties of the cuntrey salbe first served and preferred to strangears who ar not layed to and in laiding, and that thay sail haif ane ease of fyve shillingis upoun everie chalder that thay sail buy for the use and service of the cuntrey, and the sowme of tua shillingis upoun everie chalder thay sail transport.—Followis the Counsellis letter to the Kingis Majestie anent thair prooeidingis at this meeting: —Most Sacred Soverane —By the letter writtin by us to your Majestie upoun the penult day of Marche we shew that we had ressavd your Majesties letter whairby, upoun the supplicatioun exhibited in

name of the burgh of Edinburgh, for thameselffis and the rest of the burrowis of this kingdome, desireing all lawis aganis exportatioun of forbiddin goodes to be observed and executed, and that the importatioun of forreyne victuall might be always free without payment of the custome formarlie dew to your Majestie by law, your Majestie judged thair motioun to be reasounable and commanded us to see the same performed: whiche we wald haif reddilie and most humblie prosecuted if we had not rememberit that at the Conventioun in November last and divers otheris publict meetingis the Nobilitie and Gentry of the kingdome had heighlie contraverted with the Burrowis upoun these subjectis. For resolutioun whair of the Conventioun appoyntit that upoun the saxt of December bothe pairtyis sould convene befor the Counsell, to advise of the course whiche by dew consideratioun sould be fund most agreeable to the universall goode of the whole estate, whiche we wer assured your Majestie did praefer to the advantage of ony particular member thair of. And, becaus manie of your Majesties Counsellouris of goode respect wer befor the day appoyntit gone to Court, and some of your principall Officiaris and cheiff Counsellouris wer commanded be your Majestie to repair thither about that tyme (whiche interrupted the appoyntit assignatioun), we thocht it expedient to warne bothe pairtyis to come befor the Counsell upoun the tuentie of this moneth And, mony of the principallis of those Estaittis being than present, the Commissionaris of Burrowis declairit that, although thay acknowledged that the towne of Edinburgh had a generall warrand from thame to propone to your Majestie and your Counsell what upoun suddane occurrentis might be fund necessarie for preventing the prejudice of the Burrowis, yit thay judged the generall restreant of exportatioun of forbiddin goodes by Actis of Parliament wes not expedient for the cuntrey, nor to be executed bot upoun verie considerable respectis, as the plentie or scarcitie of the cuntrey commodities might offer reasonis of prohibitioun or libertie, and in particular anent the exportatioun and importatioun of vittail, nolt, sheepe, woll, and coaler Whiche gaif us matter to reduce bothe pairtyis to the groundis whiche might restreane or enlarge the commerce of commodities of that kynd; and so we broght thame by mutuall consent to mak humble supplicatioun to your Majestie graciouslie to permitt that exportatioun of vittail might be free to all burgessis and gentlemen who in formar tymes wer permitted to transport vittail to doe the like heirafter in maner following: to witt, to transport wheate so long as the price of the boll did not exceid fourtene merkis, beare when the price of the boll wes not abone ellevin merkis, and meill and aittes, the price of the boll not surpassing eight merkis. And, for the fredome of importatioun when the price of vittail sould exceid that rate, that it sould be laughfull to the Burrowis to import frelie all sortis of graynis to be sold to the subjectis ; and, howevir the pryceis of cuntrey vittail ruled, they sould be permitted to import ry in all abundance, upoun conditioun that thay might not sell or dispone upoun any thair of within the kingdome so long as the pryceis of wheate, beare, meale and aittes sould not exceid the rates abone praescryved. We haif also taikin course to thair contentment for trying the pryceis of cattle, sheip, and woll, and upoun knowledge thair of to publishe the rules of transport or restreant of commodities of that nature, custome being alwayes payed for all that sould be transported without forder charge. We haif also moved the Coal to gif contentment to the Burrowis by selling to thame the of all that thay sail buy to be sauld againe within the cuntrey at fyve shillingis lesse in the chalder nor strangearis payes, and, if our people buy coales to be transported furth of the realme, thay sail haif the chalder tua shillingis cheaper nor

strangearis, and that thay sail alwayes be preferred to strangearis in the free and readie dispatche of thair loading. Your Majesties letter did also command us to gif letteris of markque to all who, upoun verificatioun of harmes sustenit by thame by violence of the commoun enemie, sould require the same; and, althocht we persaved thair errour in the termes of thair petitioun, becaus letteris of markque ar onlie grantit aganis subjectis of nighbour Princes or Estaittis *ob denegatam justitiam* to particular subjectis wronged by thairis, we haif thocht it convenient to grant commissionis to suche as offered to adventure to arme shippis to persue the enemie with all hostilitie according to the law of nationis, with provisionis requisite for your Majesties due proportioun of the pryssis and of that portioun whiche by law belongis to the Admirall. And, incaise they sease upoun ony shippis or goodes belonging to Estaittis in amitie with your Majestie upoun praetext of thair carving vittailis or munitionis of warre to the enemie, thay sould be bund to bring thame to some free port, and try thame to be laughfull pryces, or els restore thame to thair awnaris; and haif taikin strait bandis of thame for observatioun thair of. We haif no necessitie to praescryve ony ordour in thair desire anent the repayment of moneyis lent by thame in the true value of moneyis whan thay exposed thame, till some ordour salbe fund necessarie for change of the praesent price and course of moneyis. We did also remember the expediencie of strenthningoure principall seaportis by fortis; the conclusioun whair of is delayed till the comeing of some of the Commissionaris for Warre who ar judged to be most able to designe the fittest places and considerations requisite for that course. Bot thay and we beg your Majesties pardoun to mak humble sute to your Majestie that, out of your gracious respect to the prseservatioun of this your native cuntrey, exposed to the invasioun of the commoun enemie, yee may be pleased to allow tua of your shippis to come to this Firthe, to secure the sea townis and portis aganis thair invasioun whill some more solide ordour be taikin for strenthning the outtrey aganis thair attemptis.—And so, etc. Halyrudhous, 21 of Aprile 1626. *Sic subscribitur*, Geo. Cancell., Mar, Montrois, Murray, Wyntoun, Perth, Roxburgh, Melros, A. Erskine, Carnegy, A. Carre, J. Hamiltoun, S. Joⁿ. Scott/

APPENDIX 5: An Example of the Reports sent for the Privy Council Survey in 1626 (Linlithgow)

(From RPC, 2nd Series, vol. 1, p.672)

64. "At Linlythqw the first day of August the yeir of God j^m vj^o tuentie and sex yeiris. — The quhilk day the Justices of Peax within the schirefdome of Linlythqw being convened, for obedience of the letter send be the Lordis of his Majesteis Counsall to the saidis Justices of Peax within the said schirefdome aneiit the adverteising of the saidis Lordis of Counsall off the pryces of woll, nolt, scheip, and cattell, within the said schirefdome, efter sufficient tryall tane be the saidis Justices thairanent, fand thir pryces following to be the ordinare pryces of the guidis, as they have giffin since the beginning of Maij last and giffis presentlie: viz., the oxin to be sauld in the faires and mercatis within the said schirefdome for fiftie pund, fourtie pundis, and threttie thrie pundis vj s. viij d. the peice ; the ky for tuentie four pundis, tuentie sex pundis xiiij s. iiij d., and threttie pundis the peice ; the twa yeir auld stirkis

for tuelff pundis, thretteiii pundis vj s. viij d. the peice, the yeir auldis for sex pundis xiiij s. iiij d., audit pundis, and fyve pundis vj s. viij d. the peice : far abone the pryces that siclyk guidis gave of befoir. As concerning the scheip, they ar few or nane cumis to the mercatis or faires within the said shirefdome to be sauld. The staine wecht of woll is sauld for thir pryces: viz., four pund, sex pund, aucht pund, and ten pund. — Extracted furth of the buikis of the saidis Justices of Peax be me, Robert Ker, clerk thairto, witnessing my signe and subscriptioun manuall. (Signed) Ro. KER, Cls. off P. [Indorsed] Declaratioun of the Justices of Peace within the shirefdome of Lynlythqw of the pryces of guidis and utheris within writtin."

APPENDIX 6: Two Examples of the Reports sent for the Privy Council Survey in 1627 (Perth and Fife)

(From RPC, 2nd Series, vol. 2, pp.554-555)

PERTH

8. " The quarter session of the Justices of Peace within the shirefdome of Perth, stewarttreis of Stratherne and Menteth, haldin at the burgh of Perth the sevint day of August, being the first Tyisday of the said moneth the yeir of God j^m vj^e tuentie sevin yeiris, be Alexander, Bischop of Dunkeld, etc., as the roll therof bearis. The quhilck day the Justices present, for obedience of the lettir directit be the right honorable Lordis of his Majesteis Secreit Counsell to thame the first day of May last by past concerning the ordinar prices of woll, oxen, cattell and scheip of all sorttis at the particular marcattis within the boundis of thair office fra the beginning of the said moneth of Maij last to this present day of thair meitting, and for sending ane trew report thair of in wreitt thairanent under thair handis to the saidis Lordis upon the tuentie nynt day of August instant, to the .intent that accordingly ordour may be takin for publisching the reullis of restraint or transport of these commoditeis. After long conferrance and informatioun hade and takin concerning the premissis, Findis and declaris that the ordinar prices within the boundis of thair office sen the beginning of May last to this date present hes bene of the best sort of cleane woll tuelff pundis money the stane wecht, uther woll cleane and not tarrit, ten pundis the stane, the best drawing ox threttie thre pundis sex schillingis aucht pennyis; ane midling ox tuentie sex pundis, threttene schillingis four pennyis, the smallest sort lib.; the pryce of ane wedder sheip iiij lib.; pryce of the yew and hir MisceiL. lanib iiij lib. vj s. viij d.; pryce of ane lambe xxiiij s.; piyce of ane yew without lamb, iij lib.; price of hogis iiij merkis the peice; pryce of the stane of laid woll x merkis and of cleine woll without tarr viij lib. And so, most humblie taking our leiffe, we rest your lordshipis most humble servandis, (Signed) D. HOME, A. CRANSTOUN, Ro. SUYNTOUNE, Jo. HOME, J. HUME. Duns, the first day of August 1626. [Addressed] To the rycht honorable our goode Lordis, my Lord Chancellor and remanent Lordis of his Majesties Privie Counsell."

FIFE

9. " My Lordis, The Justices of his Majesties peace being convenit a Cupar in Fyiff in ther last quarter Sessione for resolving to give ansuer to your lordship of the letter

direct be your lordshipis to them anent the pryces of woole, nolt and scheepe, after they war deliberatlie advysit thairupon they ordanit that I sould returne ansuer to your lordship declairing that the pryces of the goodes afoirsaid as they have bene theise many yeiris bygone for the present ar at ane verie deir rait, and lyiklie so to continow then to become chaipper, wnles some goode course be takin for preventing thairof. Swa humblie taking my lieve I remayne, Your lordshipis humble servand,
(Signed) S. Jo. Weymss of y^{fc} Ilk. Wemyss xj August, 1627. [Addressed] To my verie honorabill good lordis the lordis of his Majesteis most honorabill Previe Counsell."

APPENDIX 7: Examples of Accounts of Cattle Traders

(from GD 135/2743)

<p>Account of Expenses in sending cattle to Newcastle from 15th June 1772 to 26th Sept 1773.</p>		
June 15 th 1772	To the Expense of 30 Waddors & 20 Cows going from Galton to Newcastle	57
	To William Gordon for six Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Andrew Paterson for six Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Return Money	5
June 28 th 1772	To Expense of sending 6 fatted Cows & 3 parcels of Hams to Newcastle	1 6 11
	To William Gordon six Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Return Money	1 6
Sept 12 th 1772	To Expense of sending 33 Black fells & 30 Waddors to Newcastle	1 4 8
	To William Gordon for six Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Andrew Paterson for six Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Johnnie Smith for six Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6
June 15 th 1773	To Expense of sending out 30 Waddors & two Hogs to Newcastle	2 1
	To Patrick Smith for six Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Michael Maclean for six Days Driving & 4 nights watching	6 8
	To Return Money	5
Sept 26 th 1773	To Expense of sending 30 Waddors & 5 Hogs & fells & 6 fells to Newcastle	12
	To Patrick Smith 6 Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Andrew Paterson for 6 Days Driving & 5 nights watching	6 8
	To Return Money	5
	To Annan helping to Drive 3 1/2 Days	3 7
	To William Gordon Andrew Paterson & Johnnie Smith Return Money omitted in the Article 26 th Sept 1772	1 13 11
	Balance 6 th Dec ^r 1773 Received from Alexander Paterson payment of the above Account	7 9 6
<p>John Hanway Witness David Lippel witness</p>		
<p>5 Day paid Patrick Smith for the Expense of carrying a horse and 6 fells from the Newcastle from Galton</p>		6
Carried over		8 6

(from GD 6/1577)

Account of the Sheep in Blackcattall parish to the south-
at Dufftown for the year of Dufftown's yearly Survey March 1725
which was the time of Thomas Smith's removal
from his place in North Dufftown his subject to the
Charge of the same 1725 the 17 day of November
1724 when Robert Mullan the Bailiff was removed from
that Charge his subject having been in the
17 day of November in the Charge till the above time.

For Sheep in the Parks at Thomas Smith's removal	0 20
For Sheep which Bailiff Mullan brought from John	0 40
Days in the year 1726 at 4. the price	0 50
For Sheep brought to him from Duff in the year 1727	0 20
at 4. the price	0 20
For Sheep brought to him from Duff in May 1728 at 4. 5 p.	0 20
from Duff in July 1728 at 4. 5 p.	0 20
from Duff in August in October 1728 at 4. the price	0 50
from John Duff in May 1729 at 4. the price	0 20
from Duff in August 1729 at 4. the price	0 20
For Sheep brought to him from Duff in August 1729 at 4. the price	0 00
at 4. the price	2 56

Account of Sheep brought from Dufftown
parish from the 1st of March 1725 for
the use of Dufftown parish till the 17 day of November
1729 taken from the Bailiff's books

From the 1st of March 1725 to the first of January 1726	0 00
From the 1st of January 1726 to the 1st of January 1727	0 50
From the 1st of January 1727 to the 1st of January 1728	0 40
From the 1st of January 1728 to the 1st of January 1729	0 40
From the 1st of January 1729 to the 17 November 1729	0 44
For Sheep sold by Bailiff Mullan out of the parish in June 1726 they being unprofitable	0 03
For the loss of a Sheep for (after Thomas Smith's removal) when he was with his servants to Dufftown upon 27 March 1727 by Dufftown	0 02
For Sheep was kept in the park and sold by John Duff the 2nd of June 1729 for which he is to (comp)	0 01
Sum	2 11

Remains 0 25

Note Bailiff Mullan not having kept any regular book or account the above was collected from other materials as far as could be gotten together & is taken as it is which cannot now be helped but must be better looked to for the future to come for by the above account there remained in the park the 17 of November last 25 Sheep whereas there was in the park at that time 35 Sheep which must be made a charge upon the park accordingly at that time

(from GD 10/1307/3)

Account of Cable Sold to James Young
Broder July 3 1738
To Number In East Park 197—
To Do In West Park 299
To Do In Cally Park 117
To One wth the Shers & Two
In the Bar Park } 3

526 Nov

Delivered to James Young
this 27th July 1738 — 209
From the above Number 317 Remains
of 526 there is Two left
in the West Park not
able to Travel

Cally Nov^r 6th 1738
This Day I have Indorsed James
Youngs Two Bills to Mr James Corie
Merchant in Darnley the first Bill
due the 1st Current for £650:13:4
the other payable the first of Dec^r
next for 650:13:4 amounting to the
Sum of £1301:6:8 Forbearing both
Sent off p^r Jon. M^r Mutton Express

Tables 1-7

Scottish Cattle Exports

TABLE 1: Cattle Exported from Scotland, 1666-1691(from E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691)

	Dumfries	Alisonbank	Castleton	Jedburgh	Kelso	Ayton	Duns	Total
1666		8,337						8,337
1672				212				212
1673	145				227			372
1674								0
1680		79				3	72	154
1681	5,030	2,983	10	14	90	5	71	8,203
1682	9,263	4,880	1,774	388	268	5	236	16,814
1683	10,977	10,976	2,760	1,285	1,522	229		27,749
1684	4,536	5,115	2,473	310	580	2		13,016
1685	8,344	9,222	1,083	990	329	13	239	20,220
1686		17,618	4,844	1,573	2,052	2	1,104	27,193
1687								0
1688	673	30		10	6		85	804
1689	7,299	7,898	41	230	129	38	146	15,781
1690	5,755	5,417	1,099	224	60	39	18	12,612
1691	6,618	3,746		150	61	1		10,576
Total	58,640	76,301	14,084	5,386	5,324	337	1971	162,043
%	0.361879	0.4708688	0.0869152	0.033238	0.033	0.002	0.012	

TABLE 2: English Cattle Imports from Scotland in Relation to Total English Imports and Exports

(from RH4/15/1-4 English Ledgers 1696-1707)

Year	Period	Cattle	Valued Each	Cattle Value		Total Imports			Total Exports			
				£	s. d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
1697	9/1697-9/1698	59,701	£1	59,701			124,835	1	11	58,043	17	9
1698	9/1698-12/1698						10,575	10	5	18,155	18	3
1699	12/1698-12/1699	18,132	35-40 s.	33,997	10	0	86,308	12	10	18,155	8	3
1700	12/1699-12/1700	39,261	30-40 s.	68,706	15	0	130,087	9	10	85,194	1	3
1701	12/1700-12/1701	13,839	30-40 s.	24,218	5	0	73,988	18	11	56,802	2	2
1702	12/1701-12/1702	11,314	30-40 s.	19,799			71,428	18	11	58,688	2	2
1703	12/1702-12/1703	14,767	30-40 s.	25,842			76,448	8	3	57,338	15	5
1704	12/1703-12/1704						54,379	16	8	87,536	9	8
1706	12/1705-12/1706						50,309	0	10	60,313	3	7
1707	12/1706-12/1707						6,733	1	8	47,779	0	1

TABLE 3: Estimate of Cattle Exports

From main report; Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century"

Year	Estimate	Place/Notes	2nd Estimate	Place/Notes
1618	5,641	Western March		
1656	1,050	Alisonbank		
1660	20,000-30,000	Total	48,000	Total
1663	18,364	Scottish Cattle at Carlisle	80,000	Total, Unrealistic
1664	30,962	At Carlisle	16,932	Berwick (East & Middle March)
1675	20,000-30,000	From Galloway		
1690	60,000	Total		
1697	13,361	Alisonbank		
Late 17th C.	15,000-30,000	Scottish Cattle at Norwich/St. Faiths		
1698	60,000	Carlisle, Late 1690's		
1705	24,000-30,000			
1707	30,000			
Mid 18th C.	80,000			
1760	70,000			
1794	20,000	Galloways Sold to English Drovers at Fair of Dumfries		
1795	60,000	Highland Cattle at Trysts/England		
Late 18th C.	100,000			
1800	100,000	All Cattle North of Clyde Exported to England		

TABLE 4: Number of Cattle Exported to England by Drover, 1666-1691(from E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691)

Drover	For Cattle Owner	Place	Cattle
David Dunbar			300
Halbert Pine (Pune, Puine)			300
Neil Grein & Mungo Dickson			300
William Green & Robert Fargeson			300
Hugh Simpson			302
William Irving	Himself		305
William Barton			308
Balgoune			309
Mungo Dickson			309
Duncan McFarlang & Gilbert McStorkarl			310
Arthur Eliot			317
Gilbert McWaker & John Mccomie & John Wilson			320
Neil Bartoon			320
John Dipson	Peter Bartoone		329
Alexander Gadish			340
Andrew McMill	Himself		340
William Elliott & Walter Elliott			340
Christopher Carruthers & Petter Bartoune			342
John Wilson	Baillie Saus Cautioner		349
James Milligin (Mulliken)	Himself		350
John Campbell	Himself		352
Antonie McKa			355
Patrick McIlvain			360
Thomas Stewart	Himself		362
Nicolas Maxwell			368
Robert Graham			369
George Irving			370
Gilbert McWater			373
William Mulikin			378
James Scott			379
Provest Grahame			384
John McWhirtur			386
John Fed			390
Andrew Herome			400
Wilt Elliott & Walter Elliott			400
Edward McNacht			407
John McAlexander			411
Gavin Carlile	John Caruthers		420
Sir Patrick Maxwell & Duncan McDugall			420
James Stewart			424
John Muray			425
David Kennity			426
Andrew Walls			428
Walter Scott			438
Halbert Irvine	Himself		453

Allan Huett (Hewat)		462
Sir Patrick Maxwell		465
William Jackson		478
Bailiff Welsh		480
David Murray	Balredin/ Balrode	486
George Rose		490
George Currie	Himself	491
William Rae		494
Heugh Simson	Himself	496
John Currer		497
James Tailseoun		501
Christopher Haliday & James Latimer		505
Andrew Murray	Brothilrigh	511
Christopher Halliday & James Lattimore		520
William McFareson	Himself	532
William Eliot		536
John Hutchison		539
Richard Rae		540
George Graham		563
John Bell	Greengate House	602
Thomas Newall		618
James Gillespie		620
James McDougall		626
John McAdam		626
Christopher Carruthers	Himself	662
Robert Richardson		689
Gilbert McStokar		702
The Laird of Rusio		720
John Baird		776
Dougall McFerling		801
James Orchard	Bailiff Welsh	825
Sir Godfray McCulloch		876
William Bell		876
Duncan McFarlang		880
William Johnson		893
Andrew Dunbar		901
John Ferguson		923
John McKentish & George Gordone		950
Hector McLeill & Duncan Cambell		980
Ewen Campbell		1,000
Hilbert Irving		1,010
John McColm (Col)		1,021
Alexander Crawford	Himself	1,064
Peter Bartoon	Himself	1,075
Bernard Ross	Lockerbie Fair	1,099
Thomas Williamson		1,116
Halbert Irving		1,147
Walter Eliot & B Welsh		1,150
Alexander Bailie		1,190
John Kennedie		1,195
Robert Fergisone		1,199

John Scot			1,216
Robert Lin			1,241
John Mackie	Earl of Galloway	Galloway	1,250
George Corne			1,298
John Carruthers			1,319
William Baird	Himself		1,324
Hugh McGustork (McGuffork)		Risio/Rusco	1,331
Paul Gowan			1,370
William Carruthers			1,423
John Bell			1,430
Duncan Fed (Ffead,Ffeure, Fred?)			1,456
John Hay	Robert McDougal	Logune	1,625
James Rome			1,646
James Graham			1,650
Richard Rae			1,733
William Murray	Himself		2,049
John Thompsone			2,209
James Hoome	John Bordie		2,248
John McKie	Mr Murray	Parkgowan	2,421
James Latimer			2,614
George Neilson			2,711
Walter Eliot			2,771
Peter Bartoon	Himself		2,810
John Eliot			2,906
Henry Bredden	James Latimore		3,435
Christopher Haliday			3,826
Patrick Herron		Littelpark	5,193

TABLE 5: Numbers of Cattle Exports Among the Highest Drovers/Exporters

(from E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691)

Number of Top Exporters	Min. Number of Cattle Exported by Each	Number of Cattle Exports	Total Cattle Exports	Top Exporters' Cattle over all Cattle Exported%	Number of Top Exporters over All Exporters
51	>700	80,874	160,472	50.40	2.77
122	>300	111,170	160,472	69.28	6.62
297	>100	141,830	160,472	88.38	16.12

TABLE 6: Proportion of Cattle Exported per Month (In Alisonbank, Castleton, and Dumfries)

(from Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century", pp.150-155)

1681-1685	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sept.	Oct	Nov	Dec
	0	0	0	2%	7.10%	8%	6.60%	20%	36.20%	13.80%	5.60%	0.70%

TABLE 7: Estimates for Scottish Exports 1703-1704

(from NLS Ms 17,498, f.76, Fletcher of Saltoun Papers; Saville, *Bank of Scotland: a History, 1695-1995* pp.60-62)

1704 (November 1703 to November 1704)	Value, Pounds, Sterling	Value, Pounds, Scots	Percentage of Total
Linen Goods	74,693	896,320	0.60
Cattle	13,079	156,948	0.11
Woolen Cloth	9,694	116,332	0.08
Skins	5,946	71,357	0.05
Stockings	4,842	58,104	0.04
Coal	2,587	31,045	0.02
Wool	2,545	30,534	0.02
White Leather	1,774	21,291	0.01
Sheep	1,404	16,850	0.01
Tallow	875	10,503	0.01
Victual (Pork, Beef)	642	7,698	0.01
Salt	540	6,480	0.00
All Others	5,080	60,964	0.04
Total	123,702	1,484,426	
1704 (March 1704 to March 1705)	Value, Pounds, Sterling	Value, Pounds, Scots	% of Total
Linen	40,000	480,000	0.22
Wool, sheepskins	25,000	300,000	0.14
Herrings	25,000	300,000	0.14
Black cattle	20,000	240,000	0.11
Stockings	16,000	192,000	0.09
Plaid, serges	12,500	150,000	0.07
Coal	10,000	120,000	0.05
Salmon	8,000	96,000	0.04
Lead, lead ore	8,000	96,000	0.04
Salt	6,000	72,000	0.03

Linen yarn	5,000	60,000	0.03
Other skins	4,000	48,000	0.02
Pork, beef and hides	3,000	36,000	0.02
Salt, dry cod	1,000	12,000	0.01
Eggs	-	10,000	0.00
Total	184,300	2,212,000	
(Imports)	356,000	4,272,000	

Tables 8-16

Irish Cattle Trades

TABLE 8: Irish Cattle and Scotland: Contemporary Estimations

(from main report)

	Irish Cattle Exported via Scotland	Total Irish Cattle Exported	Notes	2nd Estimate	Notes
Late 1630's		20,000	Understated		
1655	1,000				
1660		50,000			
1663		61,000			
1665		57,545			
1666	7,287		Alisonbank		
1666-1679	BANNED				
1679		24,116	Cumberland		
After 1681	BANNED				
1785	18,301				
1786	10,452				
1787	7,007				
1788	9,488				
1789	13,321				
1790	14,873			17,275	Portpatrick
1794	11,000				
1812	20,000		Portpatrick		

(from O' Donovan, J., *The Economic History of Live Stock in Ireland*, pp.33-40, 46-50, 53, 63, 72,108-109,119)

**TABLE 9. The Revised Export Rates/Duties before/after 1627, 1663
(based on 5% of value 1641)**

	Before 1627			After 1627			1663		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Cattle per head	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	0
Beef per barrel							0	1	0
Dozens of Calf Skin									7
Wool per stone	0	2	0.5	0	4	0	2	3	
Sheep									2.4
Pigs									1.2

**TABLE 10. Distribution of livestock in Ireland according to age, type
and gender in 1672,in thousands**

	Number of Animals
Bulls	25
Bullocks, under 3 yrs	700
Bullocks, 3 to 6yrs	600
Bullocks, 6 yrs	175
Female. Milk Cows	600
Heifers, under 3 yrs	600
Others	300

**TABLE 11. Distribution of Irish exports to various countries, according to type of good,
in 1719, in thousand pounds**

Country/Region	Beef	Hides	Butter	Tallow
France	50	10	80	40
Iberian countries	10	50	36	-
Holland/Flanders	5	20	18	4
Countries North of Holland	3	-	17	-
England	-	-	-	20

TABLE 12. End of four-year average number of Irish livestock exports, by type of good

(one ox filling two barrels, a cow producing one hundred weight of butter in a year, two hogs filling 1 barrel of pork)

Year	Live Cattle	Beef (barrels)	Butter (cwts)	Pork (barrels)
1704	494	70,833	92,219	13,727
1708	34	66,105	111,498	2,848
1712	150	85,532	140,265	3,986
1716	210	110,288	186,978	8,202
1720	231	117,966	186,449	7,794
1724	376	133,597	147,452	8,575
1728	307	135,064	175,749	10,545
1732	110	145,208	153,727	12,206
1736	47	148,962	147,121	11,530
1740	14	150,495	161,212	11,640

TABLE 13. Value of exported Irish cattle products in absolute value and as a percentage of total Irish exports, in thousand pounds

Year	Value	% of Total Exports
1721	446	52
1726	506	49
1731	523	50
1736	506	42
1741	457	38
1746	533	39
1751	705	36
1756	702	39
1761	941	41

TABLE 14. Value of exported live Irish cattle and their products in mid-18th century, in thousand pounds

	Before mid-18th c.	After mid-18th c.
Live Animals	140 (7,000 Live cattle at 40s each)	
Beef		200
Butter		200
Tallow		70
Hides to England		3 (in Number)
Hides (to France & Spain)		70 (in Number)

TABLE 15. Number of Irish Exports, per type

	1641	1665	1669
Beeves	45,605	37,544	1,054
Barrels of Beef	15,215	29,204	51,793
Cwts of Butter	34,817	26,413	58,046
Cwts of Cheese	-	318	1,227
Cwts of Tallow	20,136	21,003	38,183
Cwts of Hide	134,121	106,344	217,046
Number of Sheep	34,845	99,564	1,120
Number of Live Hogs	-	1,446	-
Flitches of Bacon	297	1,260	1,018
Barrels of Pork	-	1,252	771

TABLE 16. Number of Irish exports into England in 1685, per type, in thousand items

	Imported Items
Beef	75
Barrels of Beef	75
Barrels of Butter	135
Barrels of Hides	93
Raw salted Ox-hides. Hides	86
Tanned Ox-hides, Tallow	41
Cwts of Skins	4
Dozen Calf-skins Bacon	2
Barrels of Flitches Pork	3
Hides	40
Cwt. of Tallow	38
Sheep, Goat & Lamb Skins	374

Table 17

Trysts

TABLE 17: Sales in Crieff and Falkirk: Contemporaries' Estimates
 (from main report)

Year	Estimate	Tryst	Month/Notes	2nd Estimate
1723	30,000	Crieff		
1730	30,000	Crieff		
1772	24,000	Falkirk		
1777	30,000	Falkirk		
1792	60,000	Falkirk	Highland	
1794	20,000-30,000	Falkik	October (2) total	60,000
1812	25,000-40,000	Falkirk	October , (2) 1st-2nd fair	5,000-6,000 & 15,000
Early 19th C.	50,000	Falkirk	Autumn	
1827	130,000	Falkirk	2nd & 3rd Fair	
1850	150,000	Falkirk	Total	
1880	15,000	Falkirk	October (Abnormally High)	

Tables 18-19

Cattle Theft

TABLE 18: Privy Council Entries on Lawlessness & Cattle Thefts

Date of Privy Entry (Date of Event)	Stolen	Value (each, in L.)	Thief/ Landlord/ Chief	Place of Thief/ Landlord / Chief	Victim/ Tenant/ Landlord/ Chief	Place of Victim/ Tennant/ Landlord/ Chief	Type of Attack	Notes
1603	2		Archibald Macarthur (and broken others)	Inderlawraie	Aulay MacAulay	Ardincaple	Personal/ Land	
1603			Earl of Argyle, Campbell of Auchin Breck (and 1500)		Sheriff of Bute	Bute	Rebellion	
1603	27		Turnbills	Braidhauch, Maiksyde, Harckschaw etc	Turnbull	Wauchop	Personal/ Land	
1603			Ross (and others).	Balnagown			Raid	Acquitted
1603	32		Sir James Douglas	Drumlarnrig	Johne Johnston	Ershok	Livestock Raid	Commission
1603	600 AO		Clan Macgregor (and 400 others)		Inhabitants of Lennox	Lennox	Raid	Repeated
1604	2	20	James, Commendator of Inchechaffray	Perth?			Cattle Raid	
1604			Finlay Ferquharsoun (and others)	Auhrietie	Patrick Guthrie and servants	Pitmowys	Personal/ Land	[GD16/41/126, Papers of the Earls of Airlie, 1604].
1605			Cheyne (and others)	Esselmont	Fraser	Philorth	Raid	
1605			John and Rowy Beatson (and others)		Turnbull	Bedrool	Cattle raid	
1605	20		Ker (and 60 others)	Fernihirst	Turnbull	Minto	Raid	
1605			Moncur	Slains	Wood	Craig, Newlandis	Livestock Raid	
1605	15		Rose	Kilravock	Robert Torrie	Bradley	Cattle raid	
1605	114		Duncan Campbell (and others)	Glenlyon		Eschintile	Cattle Raid	Commission
1606	60	20	Archibald, Earl of Eryll		John Fraser	Lochanes	Personal/ Land	
1606			Donald Farquhairson	Delreddy, Inuercauld,	George Ramsay	Bannf	Cattle Raid	

			(and 2 others)	Fandoway				
1606	13		Robert Berope	Berope	Sir Johnne Ker	Hirsell	Personal/ Land	
1606	4 AO		William and John Redpath	Greenelaw, Reidpath			Cattle Raid	
1606			Alistair Stewart (and 3 others)	Drumathast ell	Alexander Stewart, Alistair Stewart	Brespik, Drimathin	Personal/ Land	[GD132/4 30, Robertson of Lude, 1606].
1606			John Farquharson (and others)	Invercald	George Ramsay	Bamffe	Cattle raid	Acquitted
1606	30 AO		Master of Maxwell and brother	Tynwall	Earl of Home		Personal/ Land	Vendetta
1607			Alexander Scot	Fonguarthe	Alexander Haggort and father	Easter Cappaith	Personal/ Land	
1607	11		Allaster Macechane	Larg Shir of Inverness			Cattle Raid	
1607	20	14	MacIntosh	Gask	Alexander and Patrick Dunbar	Inchebrok	Cattle Raid	
1607			William Grier (and 9 others)	Lag etc	George Edzer (and others)	Dumfries	Raid	
1607			Richard Hereis	Mabie	Johne Neilsoun (for Corsook Lindsay)	Ervie	Livestock Raid	
1607			Selkirk Provost, Bailies (and 340 others)	Selkirk	Mark Davidson (and others)	Clairlaw	Personal/ Land	Acquitted
1607					John Fraser	Lochanes		
1607	56 AO		Marquis of Huntly		William Douglas	Eirlisunglie	Livestock Raid	Commissi on
1607			William Anderson, Thomas Anderson	Brumhill	James Gray		Raid	
1609			John Carmichell (and others, relatives)	Abintoun, Maynes	Mark Earl of Lothian, Andrew and David Johnnestoun	Kynneilheid , Crawfurdm ure	Personal/ Land	Commissi on[GD40/ 1/714, 1609].
1609			MacKay (and others)	Far	Angues Cuniochson, Sir Thomas Hammiltoun?	Bynnie, Rinserie in Berridail	Personal/ Land	Repeated
1610			Christie Armstrong, Forster Englishman	Batiesoun?			Livestock Raid	
1610			10 men of Lords of Glengarry and Harris		Representation by Harrie Stewart	Stradie	Cattle Raid	
1610	154		Kirkpatrick	Kirkmichael	John Graham	Mekleholm	Cattle	Acquitted

			(and 80 others)		(and others)	e	Raid	
1611	22		John Deniston	Carmoun	Mungo Buchanan	Buquannan e in Tillichewin	Personal/ Land	
1611			Johnstone (and 20 others)	Kirkholm	Johnstone (and others)	Wamfray	Personal/ Land	
1611	240 AO		50-500 of Earl of Caithness' tenants		Sinclair and tenants	Dunbeath		
1611	6 AO		John Colquhoun (and others)		Earl Glencairn	Arrachiemoi r	Raid	
1611			Hay (and others)	Smithfield	Horsburghof	Commonty of Glenties	Personal/ Land	Acquitted
1611			Duncane (and 5 others)	Drumleard, Achalader	Thomas Roy, John MacGillichallum	Kirktown, Pitcashe	Livestock Raid	
1612			Lord MacIntosh's men		Ross	Kilravock	Raid	
1613			Menzie	Pitfoddels	Forbes	Monymusk	Personal/ Land	
1613	800 AO		Allan Cameron (and others)	Lochiel			Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1613	3		George Douglas	Caveris			Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1613	9		Mccoull Vcmater	Edinchip, Locheerne	Duncal Johnstoun, William Squyre	Cultirhuiff, Striveling	Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1613			John and Donald Calder (and others)	Delnie, Urchnie, Urquhart		Clunes		Commissi on to Sherrif of Elgin and Forrest to arrest accused for not appearing in court concernin g a fire and animal violence and killing. ("cattle" sometime s applies to all animals)
1613	17		Thomas Home, Hercules King	Coldingham e, Flemyngtou n	James Reule	Mordingtou n	Cattle Raid	
1614			2 Macfarlanes	Macaulay, Ardincple	Patrick Morison	Lochend	Cattle Raid	

1615	26		John McCowl (and 3 others)	Davachnacraig, Gallachie, Badenoch	Alexander Mylneward (4 others)		Personal/ Land	Acquitted (GD176/255, Papers of the Family of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, 1615).
1615			Thomas Dempser (and others)	Auchterless			Livestock Raid	
1615	28		8 tenants of Donald Macangus	Glenngary	Harrie Stewart	Stradie		Acquitted
1615	300		Magistrates of Selkirk	Selkirk	Andrew Ker	Yair		Referred
1616			Fleming (and others)	Boghall	George Semple	Killillane	Personal/ Land	
1616	16		Archibald McInnoyer			Glenurquhy		Comission
1617			Andrew Mearns (and others)		Falconer of Halkeston (and others)		Livestock Raid	
1617			Scots of Harden	Harden	Mary Scot Lady Bonytoun		Personal/ Land	Acquitted
1619	48 AO		John Kennedy younger, John Tod	Balirquhan	Josias Stewart	Bonytoun	Personal/ Land	
1619			Alexander Campbell and sons	Barbuchan nie	Sir Patrick McKye (and others)	Large		
1619	1		George Bannerman	Asleid	Gilbert Dovirtie	Clayhillis	Personal/ Land	
1619			William Kyninmonth (and others)	Corbie- Mylne	David Williamson	Innerarririte	Cattle raid	Acquitted
1619	3 AO		Alexander Fraser				Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1619	4 AO		John Roy McDuff		Donald McAndley	Dullater		Commissi on
1619	2		Alexander Turner	Kynmuntie	Andro Wobster, Alexander Malcome	Birsbeg, Aberdeen	Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1620			Charles Maclean, Hector Maclean	Duart	Hector Macneill	Taynes	Personal/ Land	
1620			James Gordon					Petition
1620	4 AO		John Roy Macduff	Rannoch	Donald Mceanley	Dulater	Cattle Raid	Comissio n
1620	6		Robert Ramsay		Allester Gordoun	Kingwsie, Badenoch	Cattle Raid	Comissio n
1620			Edward Hunter, David	Baidlew	William Veitch and employer	Dawick		Acquitted

			Bell					
1621	1		Craikiemure (and other highlanders)	Garva in Badyenoch	Lord Kintail		Cattle Raid	Repeated
1621	2		John Johnston	Tantallon	Lady Bass	Hepburne	Cattle Raid	
1621			Andrew Allardyce, Henry Allardyce					
1622	3		Richard Ker	Gaitshaw	Ralph Ker	Dalcoiff	Cattle raid	
1622	2 AO		Robert Thomson				Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1622			Callum McTail and another	Arindoch	John McInwrie, John McEassen	Mones	Cattle Raid	
1622	200 AO		Alexander Campbell (and 10 others)	Ardchattan	King's advocate, Duncan Campbell and wife	Lerage	Raid	Repeated, Commissi on
1622	8 AO		John McConnell, VcEane (and others)				Personal/ Land	
1623	22		William Campbell (and 3 others)	Dalquhowa n	Janet Campbell, William Campbell		Personal/ Land	
1623	12		Donald Campbell (and 20 others)	Barbreck	Sir John Macdougall		Raid	
1623			Edward Trotten	Beltoun	Jeanne Forrester	Sydeserff	Cattle raid	Commisio n
1623			70 Highlanders		McAlister	Lochaber	Raid	Commissi on
1623			Hew Crawford (and 4 others)	Burnethead , Hayholme, Cloclay, Bankis	Sir William Cunynghame	Caprintoun	Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1623			John Hamilton			Strabrok	Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1623	5		Andrew Scott	Creiff	William Cruikschank		Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1623	2		James Galbraith	Tamdarroc h	Fergus Millair and James Cunningham	Kilkleugh	Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1623	5		John Roy McLaren, Donald Mccarres		Patrick Mckessik, Patrick Mcforrest, Besyid Strewin AO	Dundorne, Balimenoch e, Drumaquha rgen	Cattle raid	Commissi on
1623	1		Thomas Whittett, James Scobie	Glassinghal l, Keir			Cattle Raid	Commissi on
1624			John McKeynes, Alexander		Alexander Sutherland	Forse	Personal/ Land	(GD139/1 30, Sutherland

			McKeynes					d of Forse Muniment s, 1624).
1624	11		John Mcconnochie (and 9 others)	Auchnagallane, Letter, Corryvalzie		Corrymoir in Friewalter	Cattle Raid	Repeated, Commission
1624			John Porteous	Weymes		Lothian	Cattle Raid	Repeated, Commission
1624			William Mchutheoun (and others)				Cattle Raid	Commission
1624	20		Gillichallam McIntosh (and 19 broken highlanders)		John Steward	Coute		Commission
1624	4		William Brisbane (and 2 others)	Strablane	Fergus, James Robesoun, Craich	Campsie, Mure of Stablane, Ballagrud		Commission
1626	3		40 Highlanders	Larache		Lochaver	Cattle Raid	Commission
1627			David Ros (and others)	Holme	William Dollas	Cantray	Raid	
1627	8		John Dunbreak (and others)	Urtoun	Alexander Innes	Incheberrie	Personal/Land	
1627	8 AO		Thomas Grant (and 2 others)				Livestock Raid	Commission
1628			Adam Sturgeon	Troqueer	Herbert Gladstaines	Troqueer	Personal/Land	
1628			Alexander Stewart (60 broken highlanders)	Tuthill	Alexander Reid Fleming	Ballinriche etc	Raid	
1628			Troalus Ayrton (and 120 others)		Sir James Maxwell	Carderwood	Personal/Land	Acquitted
1628			William Johnston (and others)	Gimmembie	John Maxwell	Castlemilk	Personal/Land	Acquitted
1629			Edward Maxwell (and others)		Andrew Johnston	Lockerbie	Personal/Land	Acquitted
1629			Duncan McIntagart				Livestock Raid	Commission
1629			William Hamilton (and others)		Alexander Hamilton	Leith	Personal/Land	
1630			Patrick Hannay (and others)		John McCrystene, William McCrystene	Monkhill	Livestock Raid	Acquitted
1631	1		Certain persons		Widow of William Johnstone		Personal/Land	
1631			John Gordon (and others)	Innermerkier	Katharine Forbes	Bothiemay	Personal/Land	

1631			Sir James Blackadder	Berwick	Uchtred McDougall			
1631	2		Dorothy Hall (and 3 others)		Chapman			Thiefs Executed
1633			Patrick Agnew (and others)	Barmaill	Alexander Mclean, Andrew McLungha	Carisdouch e, Andrew McLungha	Personal/ Land	
1633	1 AO		John Wallace (and others)	Burnbank	John Black and spouse	Stalfloure	Livestock Raid	Acquitted
1633					William Hay, Alexander Gardin	Blackford	Personal/ Land	Murder from Cow Dispute
1634	3		Alexander McDougall (and others)		John McDougall	Donnoly	Personal/ Land	
1634			Certain of the clan Mackinon (20 highlanders)		Hew Ross	Tolie, Ross, Sutherland	Livestock Raid	
1634	12		Gilbert Mowat (and 9 others)		Christian Stewart	Huguland	Personal/ Land	
1634			James Cathcard (and others)	Greenock	Thomas Hay	Parke	Personal/ Land	
1634			Patrick Grant		Thomas Nairn, John Riach	Athrosk	Personal/ Land	
1634		5	Paul Redick	Bancheayne	Marion Murdoch	Banhowrie	Raid	
1634			Patrick Agnew	Lochnaw	Earl of Cassillis		Personal/ Land	Acquitted
1634	3	17	John Tagard	Tolbooth Edinburgh	Griffin Wmkells		Cattle Raid	From Englishman
1634	6				John Hairup		Cattle Raid	Warrant
1634			Alexander Gordon		Margaret Grant spouse, William Falconer	Dunkintie	Personal/ Land	
1635			David Lundie	Achtermernie	Martin Balfour	Lalathen	Personal/ Land	
1635	2 AO	60	James Hepburn	Bearfurd	Andrew Frenshe			
1635			Patrick Lindsay (and others)	Wolmerston	Patrick Maull		Personal/ Land	
1635			Uchtred McDougal	Freuch	George Poure	Staniekirk	Personal/ Land	
1637			Alexander Johnstone		Ambrose Johnstone, Simon Johnstone	Poldene	Personal/ Land	Complaint False
1638	1		Alaster McHutcheon		Sheriff of Stirling			
1638			Nathaniel Keith (and 16 others)	Cocklaw	William Seatoun (and others)	Mounie	Personal/ Land	
1641	14		John Knox (and 2 others)	Ranfurlie	Walter Dick	Griblach, Ardmanwell	Cattle Raid	Repeated offences. Acquitted.

1642	44 AO		Archibald Douglas		James Grahame	Blaaewood	Personal/ Land	
1642	2	40	Hew Weir	Cloburn	Ages Brown	Sills	Cattle Raid	
1642					Edward Aston, John Griffith (and others) from Tynterne Castle			Petition (GD52/96, 1642)
1642	7						Personal/ Land	Repeated
1642			Cuthbert Alston, Archibald Calder	Stonehouse	Thomas Walker (and 2 others)	Stonehouse		Repeated
1642			Patrick Hamilton (and 9 others)	Westland	George Hamilton (7 others)	Westland	Personal/ Land	Repeated
1642			James Gordon, George Gordon	Barlodnie	John Lyon	Muiresk	Personal/ Land	
1643			Marion Cunningham	Wigtown	John Cunningham	Wigtown	Personal/ Land	
1644	17	24	Alexander Inglis (and 30 others)		Patrick Martin	Campsie	Raid	Acquitted
1644	6 AO		Robert Turner	Blackholme			Cattle Raid	See Main Report. Sentence.
1645					Alexander Inglis	Perth		
1645					Residents	Balnacaird		
1661			William Gordon (and 18 others)	Craig	Hugh Gordon	Barvennan	Personal/ Land	
1662			Alexander McDonald (and 60 others)	Keppoch	Alexander McDonald	Inverlair	Personal/ Land	
1665	10 AO	40	Hector McLauchlan (and 17 others)	Mideoull	Hugh Rose	Kilravock, Flemington e	Raid	
1665	22 AO		Sir _Stirling	Keir	Lachlan McLean	Dowart,in Menteith, in Perth	Livestock Raid	
1666	12 AO		Neil McConnochie (and 13 others)	Killienen	Alexander McNab		Livestock Raid	
1666	26	10	Ewan Cameron (and 80 others)	Lochiel	Alexander Robertson	Struan,Kea nloch	Cattle Raid	
1666	70- 80			Lochaber	William Earl	Menteith	Livestock Raid	
1667	248 AO	22	Earl of Argyle (and 1000 others)	Glenco, Lochaber	Dame Magdalen Scrimgeour, Lady Drummond (and 45 others)	Rivens, Wester, Coull	Raid	

1667	42 AO	20	John McQueen (and 10 others)	Clandrine, Aughendel y in Swanoyd	Thomas McKenzie	Pluscarden, Auchtertyre ,Luscarden	Livestock Raid	Repeated
1667	35		Campbell of GlenOrchy (and 4 others)	Glenloca in Corricharmi k	John Keltie	Tulliboil,Ne wbiging, Claysyk	Cattle Raid	
1668	100 AO		William Sinclair (and 1200 others)	Dunbeath	John Lord Reay		Rebellion	
1668	900 AO	16	John Earl	Sutherland, Strathnaver , Embo	George Earl of Caithness	Asserie, Spittell, Pennyland	Livestock Raid	Repeated
1668	26	10	Sorley Cameron	Finart	Lord of Strowan		Cattle Raid	
1671			Robert Shaw (and others)	Aberdour	Jean Shaw	Lethangie	Personal/ Land	
1675	8	35	William Fraser	Foyerand	Alexander Stewart	Atholl, Kinderoch, Glentilt	Cattle Raid	
1676	9		Sir George Kinnaird (and many others)	Rossie	Alexander Duncan	Lundie	Cattle Raid	Acquitted
1677	42 AO		Sroley Mcallan (and 22 others)		John Campbell	Airds	Raid	
1678	650 AO	16	John Moir McEwin (and 100 others)		Alexander Campbell	Lochnell, Migliarie	Livestock Raid	
1680	500 AO		Hector Mclean (and 60-80 others)		Lachlan McLean	Lochbuie	Personal/ Land	
1681	25	18	John Roy Fraser	Guisachan, Kilbokie, Kinnaries	Alexander McConnell	Rosehaugh , Farintosh, in Ross	Cattle Raid	
1683	38 AO		Campbells and McLeans		John Beaton	Kilninian, Mull	Raid	
1683	5 AO		William Douglas	Eaglesbay	Henry Engrae	Isle of Rosay, Orkney	Personal/ Land	
1684	5	18	Alexander Mccoull	Balheartie	James Rattray	Rownagulli on	Cattle Raid	
1690			Irregular Fellows		Master of Forbes	Forbes	Cattle Raid	+Vendetta
1603(1 586)			Certain Armstrongs		Walter Scott		Personal/ Land	
1603(1 595)								
1603(1 601)	29		Richard Irving (and broken others)		Maxwell	Cavens	Cattle Raid	Repeated
1605(1 597,16 01)	5		William Elliot, William Elliot	Ninian, Steil	Hector Trumble	Stanylege	Raid	
1605(1 600)	200				Alexander Cuthbert	Brachlie	Raid	Acquitted
1605(1			Dallas (and	Cantray	James Dunbar	Tarbet	Raid	

601)			300 others)					
1606(1603)	12 AO		Donald Caddell		John Petrie	Old Yards of Rothos	Raid	Other Thief
1611(1609)	72		William Macintosh (and others)			Torriehoul	Cattle Raid	Comission
1613(1605)	11		Allester McElhane	Larg, Innernes	Allester McComie, John Brodie	Aulderne, Leitchill	Cattle Raid	Comission
1617-1618								Disorder in Lochaber/Highlands
1619-1620			Captain of Crawford (and others)			Crawfurd	Personal/Land	
1623(1615)	17 AO		Patrick Darleith		Moore, Earl of Mar and others	Kilpatrick and others		Comission
1625 (1619)			Clan Ian				Rebellion	Commission
1626(1622-4)	11		8 Highlanders		Hector Monroe	Clyne	Cattle Raid	Commission
1633(1631)	1		William Bell	Blackethouse	Earl of Annandale		Cattle Raid	+Vendetta
1635(1630-3)			Patrick Agnew (and others)	Barmaill	Janet Douglas and sons	Laroche	Personal/Land	
1636(1633)			James Maxwell (and others)	Knok	William Maxwell, wife (and others)		Personal/Land	Repeated
1637(1635)	14		Thomas Scot (and 6 others)	Kirk of Fyvie	John Cruikshank (and others)	Swanfuid	Personal/Land	
1663(1645)	40		Marquis of Montrose		John Stewart (and 3 others)	Strongarrald, Laurick, Glenfinlays	Raid	(GD112/2/121, Breadalbane Muniments, 1593-1715).
1667(1665)	250 AO		John Neilson (and 50 others)	Bretheren		Corse, Cathary, Spittell	Livestock Raid	Repeated
1671(1666)	240 AO	14	John Campbell	Glenorchy	James Menzie	Shian	Livestock Raid	Repeated
1680(1678)	25 AO		Sir Ludovic Grant (and many highlanders)	Freuchie, Portoun, Kirkton of Innerallen	James Leith	New Lesly	Livestock Raid	

TABLE 19: Prevalence of Lawlessness and Cattle Thieving

(from *The register of the Privy Council of Scotland*; By RPC Volume for Pre-1603 Period)

Year	Cases of Cattle Spoils/Poinding/Slaying/Houghing
1578-1585	55
1585-1592	30
1592-1599	52
1599-1604	90
1603-1605	20
1606-1610	22
1611-1615	21
1616-1620	18
1621-1625	26
1626-1630	13
1631-1635	23
1636-1640	5
1641-1645	13
1661-1665	5
1666-1670	10
1671-1675	3
1676-1680	5
1681-1685	4
1686-1690	1

Table 20

Journey Costs

TABLE 20: Journey Costs (Per head of cattle, per day, in Sterling unless indicated)			
(from main report, GD135/2321, GD135/2743, GD6/1577, GD124/17/144/6)			
Year	Reason	Cost	Notes
1725-29	Custom	2-3s	(for 1-3 cattle), SCOTS
1688	Drover's Return –3 Weeks?- back from England	£1 5s	
1739-45	Drover's Return	6d (5-7d)	(usually 2-3 men for 20-50 cattle/livestock, same wage with bad weather, snow etc)
1725-29	Drover's Wage (from "Gilford Hall", North Berwick-"Dirktown")	4s	(for 1-3 cattle), SCOTS
1725-29	Drover's Wage (Preston to North Berwick)	6s	(for 1-3 cattle), SCOTS
1725-29	Drover's Wage (Prestonpans to North Berwick)	3s	(for 1-3 cattle), SCOTS
1739-45	Drover's Wage for Driving in Day	10d (few 2-7d)	(usually 2-3 men for 20-50 cattle/livestock, same wage with bad weather, snow etc)
1739-45	Drover's Wage for Watching in Night	5d	(usually 2-3 men for 20-50 cattle/livestock)
18th Century	Drover's Wage	1s a day	
18th Century ?	Drover's Wage	2s 6d-5s	
19th Century	Drover's Wage	3s-4s a day	
1688	Grazing Land -4 Weeks?- Scotland to Norwich	5s	
1772	Grazing Land (per drove)	6s	
1772	Grazing Land (per score of cattle)	6d	
18th Century ?	Inns' charges in England	2d	
1688	Journey -4 Weeks?- from Scotland to Norwich	6s	
1728	Journey (from "Granges "to Alloa)	£7 4s.	(for days?), SCOTS
1728	Journey -4 Weeks?- from Wigtownshire to South England	7s 1d	
1739-45	Journey cost per day for cattle	1.5d (1-2d)	
1794	Journey -4 Weeks?- from Galloway to Norfolk, Deterioration of Condition	£1 2s	
Late 18th Century	Journey -3 Weeks?- from Scotland to England, Deterioration of Condition	1/8 of weight	
Late 18th	Journey -4 Weeks- from Dumfries to	18s-24s	

Century	South, 450 miles		
1818	Journey -1 Week?- from Norfolk to Smithfield, 112 miles	7s 1d	
1834	Journey -3 Weeks- from Falkirk to Norfolk	£1-£1 4s	
Early 19th Century	Journey (Standard?)	8s	
19th Century	Journey -4 Weeks- from Caithness to Carlisle	7s 6d	
18th Century	Tolls, Bridges etc.	2d	
Late 18th ?	Tryst Dues (Crieff)	2d	
1834	Tryst Dues (Falkirk)	8d	

Tables 21-31

Price Data

The Tables and Figures in Context

These tables in the Appendix bring together evidence found on the prices of meat and livestock from the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. As a whole, the series of tables can provide a fair indication of long-term price trends. The situation with short-term patterns is more difficult but archives such as the St. Andrews University meal purchase accounts (Table 22A) the various eighteenth-century price series, and the Leven and Melville monthly price series 1690-1702 can be very useful sources to help one determine finer trends. The general background of where the figures are coming from is essential. There are a diverse range of tables in the Appendix and the raw figures from which they derive were recorded for different reasons and under different orders. Some of the paragraphs in the next pages contain some necessary excerpts from Gibson and Smout to put the figures into context.

Table 21 collects the individual references on cattle prices as mentioned in the main part of this thesis. The figures listed here are the ones deemed to be the more representative and typical of a place or period. Prices have been converted to £ Sterling for the period before the union.

TABLE 21: Prices of Cattle, 16th-19th century (in £ Sterling)
(from main report)

Year	Contemporary Estimations	Place (Notes)
Late 16th-Early 17th C.	1.5	
1627	2.7	(Abnormally High)
1701	2	
1707	1.3	
1736	1	Colonsay
1737	1.5	Colonsay and Jura
1740	1	(3 year olds)
1763	2	Skye
1770	2	(3 year olds)
1772	2-3	Skye, Islay, Colonsay, Mull
1773	1.3	Barra
1786	2-3	Skye
1790	3	(3 year olds)
1794	2-3	(General)
1795	4	(Average in Falkirk)
Late 18th C.	9	Galloway
Late 18th C.	7	Argyll
Late 18th-Early 19th C.	5	Hebrides
1805	7	(in Falkirk)
1811	20-25	Aberdeenshire
1822	13-22	Southwest
1825	5	Southwest
1830	3	Southwest

TABLE 22A: Cattle Prices (Averages/Rounded in Italics)

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* pp.202-222)

	St. Leonard's College			St. Salvator's College			St. Mary's College			St. Mary's College			United College			United College		
	Beef Carcasses			Beef Carcasses			Beef Carcasses			Fresh Beef/Stone			Fresh Beef/Stone			Mutton/Stone		
Year	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1587	6	14	0															
1588	7	11	0															
1589																		
1590	6	12	0															
1591	7	13	0															
1600																		
1601																		
1602																		
1603																		
1604																		
1605																		
1606																		
1607																		
1608																		
1609																		
1612																		
1614																		
1615																		
1617	12	10	0															
1618	10	18	0															
1619	10	16	0															
1620	11	16	0															
1621	11	18	0															
1624																		
1625																		

1729								18	15	0										
1730	19	6	0					17	19	0										
1731	20	18	0																	
1732	22	6	0																	
1733				17	4	0														
1734				18	14	0														
1735				16	7	0														
1736				16	19	0														
1737				19	0	0														
1738				17	17	0														
1739				20	5	0														
1740				19	4	0														
1741	20	6	0																	
1742	23	5	0																	
1743								23	1	0										
1744								18	16	0										
1745								15	12	0										
1746								17	19	0										
1747								19	18	0										
1748								21	13	0										
1749								21	5	0										
1750								20	5	0	1	7	0							
1751								21	16	0	1	11	0							
1752								23	7	0	1	6	0							
1753								26	17	0	1	13	0							
1754								28	0	0	1	19	0							
1755								28	4	0	1	18	0							
1756								25	1	0	1	17	0							
1757								25	3	0	1	14	0							
1758								25	3	0	1	14	0							
1759								27	9	0	1	19	0							

1760										2	0	0							
1761										2	8	0							
1762										2	3	0							
1763										2	8	0							
1764										2	12	0							
1765										2	6	0							
1766										2	19	0							
1767										2	16	0							
1768										2	9	0							
1769										1	18	0	1	12	0	1	15	0	
1770										1	18	0							
1771										2	0	0							
1772										1	18	0	1	16	0	2	2	0	
1773										2	1	0							
1774										2	4	0	2	4	0	2	9	0	
1775										2	3	0							
1776										2	2	0							
1777										2	1	0							
1778										2	4	0	2	0	0	2	5	6	
1779										2	1	0	2	0	0	2	2	0	
1780										2	0	0							

TABLE 22B

Table 22B makes use of the price data collected by Winifred Courts from Dumfries testamentary inventories, covering much of the period between 1600 and 1662. Like Exchequer data however, the information is likely to have been biased on the low side (as probate prices so often were, in order to keep down the duty payable), and also not to reflect immediately year-by-year variation: they appear, however, at least to indicate trends.¹ Of the remaining tables of livestock prices, the Aberdeen and Edinburgh Statute price series stand distinct. Taken from the records of the respective town Councils, these represent an attempt to regulate the price of beef and mutton in the two burghs. How successful, or how responsive to market forces, these statutes were is impossible to determine, but as with similar price assessments for grain, it is inherently unlikely that they could remain unrelated to market prices for long. These prices, it should be remembered, were price maxima. That the town councils strove to establish the price of beef and mutton indicates that they had in mind some idea of a standard beast- though it must be noted that as often as not they fell unable to set the price of beef and merely stipulated that it should be sold at a price 'according to its goodness'. Certainly more assessed prices of this kind exist (or have existed) than we have quoted. Privy Council in 1620, for example, surveyed a whole range of meat and other prices set by Edinburgh town council," and in 1669 the Court of Session allowed the magistrates to 'exact the oathes of the poultrien and innkeepers concerning their contravention of the acts lately made for the price of the fowll drest and undrest'.²

TABLE 22B: Cattle Prices (Averages/Rounded in Italics)														
(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, <i>Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780</i> , pp.202-222)														
	Dumfries Comm. Invent.						Aberdeen Council Statutes							
	Cows			Sheep			Cow beef carc.			Ox beef carc.			Mutton carc.	
Year	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
1587														
1588														
1589														
1590														
1591														
1600	8	10	0	1	7	6							30	0

¹ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.187-197.

² Ibidem.

1601	8	4	6	1	5	6								
1602	10	0	0	1	10	0							26	8
1603	10	8	0	1	9	6							33	4
1604	10	3	6	1	14	0							26	8
1605	10	8	0	1	14	6							33	4
1606	10	12	6	1	15	0							26	8
1607	10	15	6	1	18	0							26	8
1608	10	15	0	1	17	0								
1609	11	15	0	1	19	0							33	4
1612														
1614														
1615														
1617													33	4
1618													33	4
1619														
1620														
1621														
1624	10	16	0	1	17	0								
1625	10	16	0	1	19	0								
1626	11	14	6	1	18	0								
1627	11	9	0	1	18	6								
1628	11	14	6	1	18	0								
1629	10	10	0	1	17	0								
1630	10	9	0	1	15	0								
1632														
1634														
1638	12	11	6	1	18	6								
1639	12	8	6	1	14	0								
1640	11	14	6	1	11	6								
1641	11	10	6	1	15	0								
1642	13	11	6	1	19	6								
1643	12	4	6	1	19	6								
1644													48	0
1648													53	4
1649													46	0
1650													46	0
1651													46	0
1652													46	0
1653													46	0
1656	12	11	0	1	18	6	9	0	0	12	0	0	36	0
1657	10	16	0	1	11	6	9	0	0	12	0	0	36	0
1658	10	12	0	1	9	6	9	0	0	12	0	0	36	0
1659	11	6	0	1	12	6	8	0	0	10	13	4	32	0
1660							8	0	0	10	13	4	36	0
1661	13	2	0	1	9	6				10	13	4	34	0
1662	13	9	6	1	8	0	8	0	0	10	13	4	30	0
1663							8	0	0	10	13	4	30	0
1664							9	0	0	12	0	0	33	4
1665							8	0	0	10	13	4	30	0
1666							7	0	0	10	0	0	26	8
1667							6	0	0	9	0	0	24	0

1668							6	0	0	8	0	0	24	0
1669							6	0	0	8	0	0	24	0
1670							6	0	0	9	0	0	24	0
1671							6	0	0	9	0	0	24	0
1672							7	0	0	10	0	0	24	0
1673							7	0	0	10	0	0	24	0
1674							7	0	0	10	0	0	24	0
1675							7	0	0	10	0	0	24	0
1676							7	0	0	10	0	0	24	0
1677							8	0	0	11	0	0	26	8
1678							8	0	0	11	0	0	26	8
1679							8	0	0	12	0	0	29	0
1680							8	0	0	12	0	0	29	0
1681							7	6	8	10	13	4	26	8
1682							7	6	8	10	13	4	26	8
1683							7	6	8	10	13	4	26	8
1684							8	0	0	12	0	0	26	8
1685							8	0	0	12	0	0	26	8
1686							8	0	0	12	0	0	26	8
1687							8	0	0	12	0	0	26	8
1688							8	0	0	12	0	0	26	8
1689							8	0	0	12	0	0	26	8
1690														
1691														
1692														
1693														
1694														
1695														
1696														
1697							10	0	0	12	0	0	26	8
1698														
1699														
1700														
1701							14	0	0	24	0	0	40	0
1702														

TABLE 22C

The prices of cattle and sheep at Buchanan refer directly to transaction prices. These accounts, though detailed, do not permit a breakdown by age, though there was usually about a year's age difference between those bought and sold. The farm at Buchanan was apparently fattening stock for the Glasgow market, keeping cattle and sheep for between three months and three years before selling them. The often substantial price difference between those bought and sold reflects this fact.³

³ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.187-197.

TABLE 22C: Cattle Prices (Averages/Rounded in Italics)

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222)

Buchanan Farm, Stirlingshire,Bought														Buchanan Farm, Stirlingshire,Sold																						
	Milk Cows			Cows			Stots			Wedder s			Ewes			Ewes &lambs			Milk Cows			Cows			Stots			Wedders			Ewes			Ewes &lambs		
Year	£	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			
1750																																				
1751							23	15	0																51	0	0									
1752	30	0	0				29	2	0	4	16	0							43	16	0															
1753	46	4	0				25	11	6	4	4	0							52	8	0					41	0	0								
1754	33	7	6				33	5	8	4	10	0				5	8	0	25	1	4					42	19	7								
1755							29	3	9	4	4	0				7	13	0	33	0	0					56	0	0								
1756	52	9	2				35	0	0	4	16	0				7	4	0				49	6	5												
1757							30	5	#	4	14	0				7	0	0	48	0	0					48	0	0	4	10	0					
1758	48	6	0				30	10	0	4	16	0				7	4	0	35	19	0					38	7	2								
1759														5	9	0	7	2	0										4	14	0					
1760	58	6	5				32	1	6	6	8	0							40	8	0					60	0	0								
1761							34	5	4					5	8	0	7	4	0	63	0	0					39	0	0	4	16	0				
1762	54	8	0	26	2	10	29	14	0										39	2	3					47	10	0								
1763	58	8	0	27	16	6	30	6	0	5	6	0	4	10	0				48	0	0	39	0	0	54	0	0	7	4	0						
1764	76	4	6	31	19	6	36	0	0	5	2	0	3	17	0				46	5	3	41	12	0				7	10	0				4	16	0
1765	69	19	2	34	5	6				4	19	0	3	14	0							45	17	0				8	2	0						
1766				44	18	11				5	15	0	4	4	0				57	15	0	53	2	6				7	16	0	3	18	0	7	16	0
1767							43	14	0	6	14	0	4	19	0				41	6	8							8	18	0	5	8	0	9	0	0
1768				37	16	0				6	6	0													43	4	0	7	4	0	4	4	0			
1769	57	3	0				81	3	6	6	0	0	4	10	0				47	9	2	45	2	2	12	0	0	7	10	0						
1770				35	2	6				7	16	0										38	13	4				4	16	0	4	4	0			
1771	33	6	0	38	12	0	24	12	0	8	8	0	5	14	0				43	10	0	43	18	1	72	0	0									
1772				37	4	0	42	0	0																					4	4	0				

TABLE 22D: Cattle Prices (Averages/Rounded in Italics)								
(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, <i>Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780</i> , pp.202-222)								
	Knockbuy, Argyll			Park Estate, Wigtownshire			Misc. Quotations	
	Cows (Average)			Stots	Cows	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep
Year	£	s.	d.	£	£.	£	£	s.
1607							20	60
1608								
1609								
1612							10	40
1614							13	
1615							12	20
1617								
1618								
1619								
1620							10	48
1621								
1624								
1625								
1626							10	60
1627							10	
1628								60
1629							8	30
1630								
1632							10	
1634							10	60
1638								
1639							12	
1640							8	
1641							16	
1642								40
1643								
1644								
1648								
1649								
1650							20	64
1651							9	42
1652								
1653							16	
1656								
1657								
1658								
1659								
1660								
1661								
1662							18	
1663								
1664								
1665							17	40

1666								
1667								
1668								
1669								
1670							17	
1671							13	46
1672								
1673								41
1674								67
1675								28
1676								
1677								
1678								
1679								
1680								
1681								
1682							16	30
1683							32	66
1684								27
1685								
1686								
1687								
1688								
1689								
1690							16	43
1691								
1692								
1693								
1694								
1695								
1696							18	
1697							12	
1698							10	
1699							22	
1700							19	
1701							21	30
1702							21	
1703							21	
1704								
1705								
1706							10	
1707							12	
1708								
1709								
1710								
1711								
1712								
1713								
1714								
1715								
1716								

1717								
1718				12				
1719					11	20		
1720				16				
1721				17		19		
1722				17				
1723					11	17		
1724				20				
1725				19	12	48		
1726				24	15	27		
1727								
1728				27		27		
1729	14	18	0	25	14			
1730	15	18	0					
1731	16	15	7					
1732	13	0	0					
1733	13	5	4					
1734	14	10	10					
1735	12	15	0					
1736	13	2	2					
1737	12	6	8					
1738	12	13	11					
1739	13	10	4					
1740	15	14	5					
1741								
1742	16	15	0					
1743	23	5	5					
1744	16	16	8					
1745	19	1	9					
1746	18	7	8					
1747	16	3	4					
1748	17	4	4					
1749								
1750	24	0	0					
1751	26	13	4					
1752								
1753	17	6	0					
1754								
1755	19	10	0					
1756	18	3	0					
1757	19	16	0					
1758	17	14	0					
1759	18	6	0					
1760	17	8	0					
1761	17	2	0					
1762	18	0	0					
1763	18	0	0					
1764	18	0	0					
1765	24	0	0					
1766	24	0	0					
1767	24	0	0					

1768	24	0	0					
1769	24	0	0					
1770	25	16	0					
1771	25	16	0					
1772	25	16	0					
1773	25	16	0					
1774	25	16	0					
1775								
1776								
1777								
1778								
1779								
1780								

TABLES 23-9

The survey of 1626 and 1627 was analyzed in the main thesis, providing some additional evidence than the relevant paragraph discussed by Gibson and Smout:

The Privy Council was also involved through the Justices of the Peace in a national investigation into animal prices that took place in 1626 and 1627 [...]. This produced one of the most comprehensive and interesting sets of data that we have located over the entire period, providing a unique opportunity to investigate different price levels between animals of various types and ages across ten Lowland counties. The background was a sudden increase in prices that had taken place in 1626, which led Privy Council to place restrictions on the export of wool, cattle, sheep and hides to England. The increase was blamed on demand from the south - an Aberdeenshire commentator, for example, said that no beasts were available to local people because buyers from the Mearns, Angus, Fife and the counties south of Edinburgh had bought them up for sale to Englishmen, and from Kincardineshire came the warning that 'the puir men laboraris salbe forcit to quyte ther tillage gif remeid be nocht provydit speidalie'. Of particular concern was the high price of plough oxen. The problem may also have been related to the dearth of grain two years previously when many young animals would have been slaughtered to provide cash and food in what had been the most severe famine for decades." In any case the Council's prohibitions on export had only limited effect; from Selkirk came the comment that the regulations had prevented the English from coming into 'geyf ane full pryce to the poore folk that hes grittest neit thair of while not preventing 'the transportation quhilk is maid contenuallie be some off the richest sorte' and from Haddington came the warning that between May and August above 2,000 beasts had been transported through the county for sale in England despite the restrictions. The Privy Council, in an attempt to monitor the situation, asked the Justices of the Peace to report to them the market price of wool, oxen, cattle and sheep between May and August, within their bounds. This was an unprecedented demand on men who, in Scotland, had only been used sparingly as an arm of government since their introduction by James VI. In some counties there was no response at all: Sir John Leslie of Wardes, the man entrusted in Aberdeenshire with convening the justices, wrote to say that he was unacquainted with such public business and that in any case he was not someone whom the justices would respect. In others, the response was inadequate; the justices of Fife simply reported the price of flesh was 'a third and above darrer nor they wer within thir few years'. Most of the respondents, however, apparently took their responsibility seriously, though they gathered the prices in different ways. In Roxburghshire the justices gave their own considered opinion from personal experience 'be our sensour, knowledge and pluralitie of voittis'. In Berwickshire they employed two experts to survey the markets, who reported in 1627 with a tart reminder to the justices "to get ws ane competent fiall for our pains and viewing of the marcatis thir nyne or ten weikis or ellis ye will get slack service heirefter'. In Angus the justices report was 'found be our owne knowledge, and lykewayes he the informatione of diverse and

sindrie inhabitantis of good and honest conversatione', and a similar proceeding was followed in Selkirk. These differences have to be borne in mind when considering, for example, the sharply varying prices of oxen reported in Selkirk and in Roxburgh. On the other hand, the highest prices for oxen are likely to be found in the most fertile counties where the upper range is represented by heavy draught animals rather than by young beef animals ready for the drove, as would be the case in a county with little tillage, like Selkirk. The report refers to the price of English draught oxen, from Teviotdale, used on large mains farms in East Lothian, and worth a great deal more than ordinary plough beasts. We have listed all the prices as close to the original categories of cattle and sheep as possible, but we have not given any wool prices, partly because of ambiguities in the qualities and measurements used in the returns, and partly because we have found too few surviving wool prices from other periods to construct a series. We would nevertheless draw attention to this data for other scholars interested in wool prices.¹

TABLE 23: 1626 Justices of Peace Investigations (In £ Scots., Rounded)

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222 and from *The register of the Privy Council of Scotland*)

County	Oxen	Cows	Cows & Calf	2 Yr.	1 Yr.	Wedd ers	Ewes	Ewes & lambs	Hogs	Lambs
Berwickshire	28	18	24			4	3	4	3	1
Roxburghshire	38	27				5		4	3	
Selkirkshire	20		17			3		3	3	
East Lothian	37		24			4		4	3	2
West Lothian	42	27		13	7					
Angus	27		24			4			2	2
Perthshire	27		20			4		3		
Dumfriesshire										
Stirlingshire										
Kincardineshire										
Average	31.29	24.00	21.80	13.00	7.00	4.00	3.00	3.60	2.80	1.67

¹ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.187-197.

TABLE 24: 1627 Justices of Peace Investigations (In £ Scots, Rounded)

(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.202-222 and from *The register of the Privy Council of Scotland*)

County	Oxen	Cows	Cows &Calf	2 Yr.	1 Yr.	Wedd ers	Ewes	Ewes &lams	Hogs	Lambs
Berwickshire	20	16	15			4	4	4	3	2
Roxburghshire	27	21				5		4		
Selkirkshire	21		17			4		3	2	1
East Lothian										
West Lothian	33			10	6					
Angus										
Perthshire	27		20							
Dumfriesshire	21	17				3			1	1
Stirlingshire	25	18	22	11		4		4	2	
Kincardineshire	33	26								
Average	25.88	19.33	18.50	10.50	6.00	4.00	4.00	3.75	2.00	1.33

TABLE 25: 1626/1627, Price Change Percentage

(from *The register of the Privy Council of Scotland*)

County	Oxen	Cows	Cows &Calf	2 Yr.	1 Yr.	Wedd ers	Ewes	Ewes &lams	Hogs	Lambs
Berwickshire	0.714	0.889	0.625			1	1.333	1	1	2
Roxburghshire	0.711	0.778				1		1		
Selkirkshire	1.05		1			1.3333		1	0.667	
East Lothian										
West Lothian	0.786			0.77	0.86					
Angus										
Perthshire	1		1							
Dumfriesshire										
Stirlingshire										
Kincardineshire										
Average	0.83	0.81	0.85	0.81	0.86	1.00	1.33	1.04	0.71	0.80

TABLE 26

The Leven and Melville monthly price series, 1690-1702 refers to the cost of beef, veal, mutton and lamb purchased for the use of the household. Considerable quantities were purchased, though the amount varied greatly from month to month and year to year. An average figure (once again the mean unless a particularly prominent mode emerged) has been calculated for each month.²

TABLE 26: Leven and Melville Accounts (prices per carcass, by Month/Year)													
(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, <i>Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780</i> , pp.202-222)													
		Beef			Veal			Mutton			Lamb		
Year	Month	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1690	March	39	8	10	7	7	5	5	18	7	3	13	10
1690	April	40	2	3	6	16	8	6	5	5	3	3	8
1690	May	46	8	0	6	14	1	5	8	9	2	10	9
1690	June	32	2	0	5	19	10	3	14	5	1	15	9
1690	July	24	16	8	5	0	2	2	19	0	1	10	5
1691	December				8	12	0	3	0	0			
1692	January				7	11	4	3	4	1	3	4	0
1692	February				6	2	3	3	16	0	5	4	0
1692	March				7	6	6	5	18	0	3	13	4
1692	April				5	16	9				2	19	6
1692	May				4	16	0	6	19	7	2	4	10
1692	June				5	5	3	6	7	1	1	16	9
1692	July				5	0	0	3	18	3	1	13	2
1692	August				3	6	8				1	13	8
1692	December				6	8	0	2	16	0			
1693	January				7	14	8	2	16	0			
1693	February				7	17	4				7	0	0
1693	March				6	5	7				3	18	5
1693	April				6	1	2	5	4	0	3	1	4
1693	May				5	3	4	4	3	4	2	8	8
1693	June				5	12	0	3	18	8	1	12	11
1693	July												
1694	December				10	9	7	3	2	0			
1695	January				11	2	0	4	4	11	8	0	0
1695	February				9	16	10	5	4	7	6	13	8
1695	March				6	17	5	6	4	0	4	3	0

² Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.187-197.

1695	April				7	19	7	8	9	7	2	14	4
1695	June				7	2	10	7	13	9	2	12	8
1695	July				6	10	8	4	9	9	2	2	7
1695	August	19	4	0									
1695	November				3	6	8						
1695	December				2	14	0	2	16	0			
1696	January	14	17	4									
1696	February	20	0	0				5	16	0			
1696	March	23	6	0	3	16	0						
1696	April	11	0	0	7	4	0				2	17	5
1696	May	16	0	0				4	8	0	2	2	3
1696	July							2	4	8	1	15	0
1696	August	22	0	0				4	0	0	1	9	4
1696	September	23	8	0	4	4	0						
1696	December				7	16	0	3	2				
1697	January				8	12	2	3	15	6	6	0	0
1697	February				7	10	2	4	5	6	12	13	4
1697	March				9	1	2				4	15	7
1697	April	15	0	0	5	0	0				2	1	0
1697	May	20	8	11	5	8	0				1	8	10
1697	June	16	0	0							1	7	8
1697	July	17	6	8	5	0	0	6	17	2	1	7	0
1697	August							3	14	10	1	9	9
1697	September							3	0	7			
1697	October							2	15	6			
1697	November							2	12	5			
1697	December				7	7	2	2	14	4			
1698	January				7	4	0						
1698	March	26	16	8	6	16	5	6	0	0	3	11	0
1698	April	26	18	4	4	16	0				1	17	4
1698	May	27	6	8	5	6	7				1	12	0
1698	June	26	13	4	4	10	0						
1698	July	22	0	0	3	10	0				1	6	0
1698	August	13	16	0	1	6	8				1	12	6
1698	September	14	0	0				2	8	0			
1698	November	15	0	0				2	8	0			
1698	December				8	0	0	3	2	0			
1699	January				8	11	6	3	12	7			
1699	February				11	1	9	5	4	0	4	4	0
1699	March				7	3	4	6	5	4	4	0	7
1699	April	26	6	8	6	3	4	7	17	9	3	0	10
1699	May	24	0	0	3	5	1	5	0	0			
1699	June	24	0	0	2	8	10	3	0	0			
1699	July				2	3	9				1	8	6
1699	August				1	16	0						
1699	September	14	0	0				2	12	0	1	12	0
1699	October	16	0	0	6	13	0						
1699	November	18	13	4	8	17	9						
1699	December				6	6	8						
1700	July							5	7	2	1	13	4
1700	August							3	3	8	1	13	2

1700	September							2	17	9			
1700	October	15	0	0									
1700	November	16	0	0				3	0	0			
1700	December	20	18	3	11	0	0	2	15	8			
1701	January	23	11	1	9	18	4	3	2	6			
1701	February				10	6	1	3	12	0	7	9	4
1701	March	11	6	6	10	2	6				6	2	1
1701	April	24	16	8	6	14	5				2	18	6
1701	May	27	17	6	5	1	0	5	6	0	2	15	0
1701	June	30	2	6	4	10	4	5	1	9	2	0	0
1701	July	32	0	0	4	13	3	4	0	0			
1701	August	34	16	8	4	10	0						
1701	September	30	10	0									
1701	October	22	0	0									
1701	December				9	4	7	3	17	7			
1702	January				12	18	2	3	19	0			
1702	February				6	1	7	2	16	0			
1702	March				7	5	0				2	12	8
1702	April							4	8	0	2	1	2

TABLE 27

The prices of cattle at Carskey, in Argyll, (as well as the Knockbuy figures in Table 22D) are related to rent payments. The estate in each case was involved in taking animals from their tenants and disposing of them in the market to drovers and others, crediting the peasants with the proceeds to set against the rent. The Carskey data differentiate between various categories of cattle.³

TABLE 27: Carskey, Argyll Prices (by Month/Year) (from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, <i>Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780</i> , pp.202-222)													
		Beasts			3 Yr.			2 Yr.			1 Yr.		
Year	Month	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1716	April							5	3	4			
1716	May				9	10	0	5	6	8			
1716	November	11	6	8				8	0	0	4	13	3
1717	January										4	0	0
1719	November	14	0	0									
1720	January	13	6	8									
1721	May	13	6	8									
1721	November	16	0	0									
1721	December				10	0	0						
1722	January							6	13	4	5	6	8
1725	March				10	0	0						
1731	May	15	0	0									
1734	January	9	0	0									
1734	May	14	0	0									
1735	January				10	0	0						
1735	November	10	13	4									
1736	February							6	13	4			
1737	February	9	0	0							3	6	8
1740	November	10	0	0									
1740	December	15	0	0									

³ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.187-197.

TABLE 28

The prices of cattle and sheep at the Melville estate, in Fife, were taken from annual valuations made of the stock of the estate. The same applies to the figures derived from the Park Estate, in Wigtownshire (in Table 22D). While the latter is a much more detailed valuation - often valuing each beast individually- the former generally ascribes a single value, which was presumed to have been an average value, for each type of cattle or sheep. Both however, appear to reflect market prices; Melville accounts often give a valuation explicitly on the basis of the price that was actually paid for the stock.⁴

TABLE 28: Melville Estate Prices (by Month/Year)													
(from Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, <i>Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780</i> , pp.202-222)													
		Co ws	Highland Cows	3 Yr	2 Yr.	1 Yr.	Cal ves	Wed ders	Ewe s	Ram s	Gim mers	Hogs	Lam bs
Year	Month	£	£	£	£	£	£	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.	s.
1731	December	15						51	36	36	48	24	
1732	May, November	13											
1733	November	30	18		17	10		48	36			30	
1735	May, November	28	18	28	18	17	8	48	30	30	30	24	18
1736	November	27	13	24	18	12	6						
1737	October	30	18		16	12	7						
1738	October	35	16				9						
1739	October	39	18		20	18	12						
1742	November	54	24		24	18	12						
1744	November	54	19										
1746	December	38		30	24	18	9						
1747	November	42		28	21	19	9						
1748	November	41		27	9	12	9						
1750	July	45			24	18	9						
1754	October	60	24	39	28	23	12	100	48	74	72	48	36
1762	October							149	55				

⁴ Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780*, pp.187-197.

TABLE 29: Difference of Price Estimates Typical of Privy Council Valuations (Scots)
(from RPC, 3rd series, vol.3, 1672, p.494)

Animal	Landowner's Valuation	Petitioner's Valuation
Milk Cow	£8 Scots	18 Merks (£12)
Great Cow	10 Merks	18 Merks
Quoy	4 Merks	9 Merks
Ox	£8 Scots	18 Merks (£12)
Stot	£2 Scots	8.5 Merks (£5.7)
Stirk	2 Merks	4.5 Merks
Calf	13s	26s
Horse or Mare	20 Merks	£16 (24 Merks)
Staig	4 Merks	£5 (3.3 Merks)
Sheep	24s	2 Merks (16s)
Lamb	6s	0.5 Merk (7s)

TABLE 30

Here, an account of the Earl of Stair during the difficult pre-union years has been summarised in order to confirm the changing prices from 1702 to 1705, when the English threat to ban Scottish cattle exports significantly decreased prices in the short term.

TABLE 30: Volume of Sales and Price of cattle (bought from the Earl of Stair before and during English threat)

(from GD 135/2307)

Year	Cattle	£ Scots	Average Price
1702	226	4,530	20.04
1703	867	16,951	19.55
1704	184	2,870	15.6
1705	753	10,660	14.1

TABLE 31

This table contains the account of the losses and damages sustained by the Laird of McIntosh through burning of his house by those in arms against the government. The valuations are estimations of masons, government smiths, carpenters and glassiers who were employed to build and glass the house. This account generally valued almost everything in the destroyed land possessed by the Laird of McIntosh as well as livestock losses by him and his tenants. The account probably represents the true prices of several contemporary goods, raw materials, animals etc, and thus can provide a relatively isolated but accurate estimate on the relative value and importance of cattle.

TABLE 31: Account of Losses of Laird McIntosh and his Tenants, at Kingsmills of Inverness, in 1690

(from RPC, 3rd series, vol.15, 1690, pp.674-682)

The Account of damages and losses sustained by the Laird of Mackintosh through burning of his house as to the materials and workmanship.

Masons valuation	£7,574
The account of iron and workmanship thereof	£539
Account of timber and workmanship	£4,818 12s
Account of goods pillaged and taken away by those in arms against government from persons undernamed, tenants to the Laird of Mackintosh in his lands aftermentioned Losses to tenants of Laird's lands in Badenoch, Strathearne and Strathnairn	
Livestock, plenishings, clothes, guns, pans, victual, grain	£9,273 19s
Estimate of money attributed to cattle from the previous. 400-450 Cattle valued from £10 to £25 Scots Calculated with an average of £17 for 415 cattle	£7,055

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT PRIMARY SOURCES

Scottish Record Office, Register House, Edinburgh

(a) Scottish Exchequer

E38 Exchequer Rolls, 1264-1708.

E71 Customs Books, 1st series, 1498-1640.

E72 Customs Books, 2nd series, 1665-1691.

E74 Bullion Accounts, 1686-1696.

E76/1-3 Books of Rates, 1597, 1611, 1612.

(b) English Customs Administration

RH4/15/1-4 English Ledgers 1696-1707.

(c) Privy Council

PC1/49 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1693-1694.

PC1/50 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1694-1696.

PC1/51 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1696-1699.

PC1/52 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1699-1703.

PC1/53 Privy Council: Register of Acta, 1703-1707.

(d) Gifts and Deposits

GD6/990	Papers of the Brooke Family of Beil, 1/2/1667-5/8/1668.
GD6/1577	Papers of the Brooke Family of Beil, 26 Nov1725- Dec 1729.
GD10/1296	Papers of the Murray Family of Broughton, Wigtownshire, and Cally, Kirkcudbrightshire Aug 1711.
GD10/1307	Papers of the Murray Family of Broughton, Wigtownshire, and Cally, Kirkcudbrightshire 3 Jul-1731.
GD14/96	Papers of the Campbell Family of Stonefield, 3/7/1746.
GD18/5246	Papers of Clerk family of Penicuik, Midlothian, 1715-49.
GD26/5/544	Papers of the Leslie family, Earls of Leven and Melville, Oct 1688.
GD39/1/331	Papers of Earls of Glencairn, 13/12/1688.
GD77/180/6	Papers of the Fergusson family of Craigdarroch, Ayrshire, 17th Century.
GD112	Papers of the Campbell Family, Earls of Breadalbane (Breadalbane Muniments).
GD124/17/144	Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie Estate papers, 1728-1729.
GD135/2307	Papers of the Dalrymple Family, Earls of Stair, 1705.
GD135/2321	Papers of the Dalrymple Family, Earls of Stair, 1740-1742.
GD135/2743	Papers of the Dalrymple Family, Earls of Stair, 1742-1743.
GD248/68/6	Papers of the Ogilvy family, Earls of Seafield (Seafield Papers), 1746.

(e) National Register of Archives-Private Collections

NRA 0771, Bundle No.812	Letters Addressed to Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, 1731-1733.
NRA 61, Box 9, Bundle No. 10	Miscellaneous Papers, 1734-1800.

National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh

Anon, *One day's journey to the Highlands of Scotland, March 12. 1784*
(Mf.SP.386(5), 1784).

Defoe, D., *A discourse upon an union of the two kingdoms of England Scotland*
(London: 1707).

Defoe, D., Scotland in danger, or, a serious enquiry into the dangers which Scotland has been in, is now in, or may be in since the Union; with some humble proposals for the remedy (Edinburgh, 1708?).

Defoe, D., *The state of the excise after the union, compared with was it is now*
(Edinburgh: 1706).

Fletcher of Saltoun Papers (MS 17,498, f.76.).

MacIntosh, William, *A short scheme...to stop depradation and theft so destructive to the northern counties of Scotland* (Blk. 648, 1742).

Scott, W. of Meikledale, *Answers for William Scot of Meikledale, and Benjamin Bell; to the petition of Alexander Dunbar of Machrimore* (APS.5.202.04, 1742).

Smith, James, *Exact dealer's companion* (Pt.med. 1(7), 1727).

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Official Publications

Record Commission and H. M. General Register House

The acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (Gloucester: Record Commission; printed by command of His Majesty King George the Third in pursuance of an address of the House of Commons of Great Britain).

Exchequer Rolls of Scotland 1264-1600 (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 23 volumes, 1878-1908).

The register of the Privy Council of Scotland (Edinburgh: H. M. General Register House, 3 volumes, 1877 - 1908).

Board of Agriculture

P. Graham, *General view of the agriculture of Stirlingshire: with observations on the means of its improvement* (Edinburgh: printed for G. & W. Nicol, 1812).

G. S. Keith, *A general view of the agriculture of Aberdeenshire; drawn up under the direction of the Board of Agriculture* (Aberdeen: printed by D. Chalmers for A. Brown [etc.] 1811).

M. James, *General view of the agriculture of the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland with observations on the means of their improvement, together with a separate account of the principal islands: comprehending their resources, fisheries, manufactures, manners, and agriculture: drawn up under the direction of the Board of Agriculture: with several maps* (London: R. Phillips [et al.] 1811).

R. James, *General view of the agriculture of the county of Inverness with observations on the means of its improvement* (London: printed for Sherwood Neely and Jones, 1813).

S. Samuel, *General view of the agriculture of Galloway comprehending two counties, viz the stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtonshire, with observations on the means of their improvement* (London, printed for Sherwood Neely and Jones, 1813).

W. James, *General view of the agriculture of Galloway* (Edinburgh: printed by J. Paterson, 1794).

Parliamentary Papers

Report of the Commissioners for Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland. (London, 1804).

First report from the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the means of promoting the cultivation and improvement of the waste, uninclosed, and unproductive lands of the kingdom: ordered to be printed 23d December 1795 (London, 1795).

The reports from the select committee of the House of Commons on finance, as presented to that house (London: printed for J. Debrett, 1798).

Report from the Select Committee on promissory notes in Scotland and Ireland (London, 1826).

The New Statistical Account of Scotland / by the ministers of the respective parishes, under the superintendence of a committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.

The new statistical account of Scotland (Edinburgh – London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 15 volumes, 1845).

The Statistical account of Scotland 1791-1799 edited by John D. J. Withrington, et al. Wakefield: EP Publishing.

Newspapers and Magazines

Farmer's Magazine, Edinburgh, 1804.

Inverness Courier.

Stirling Journal and Advertiser.

Books and Articles

Alexander, W., *Notes and sketches illustrative of northern rural life in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1877).

Boswell, J., F. A. Pottle, et al. (eds.), *Boswell's Journal of a tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL. D* (New York: The Viking Press, 1936).

Brown, P. H. *Early travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, D. Douglas, 1891).

Brown, P. H., *Scotland before 1700 from contemporary documents* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1893).

Burt, E., R. Jamieson, et al., *Letters from a gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London: containing the description of a capital town in that northern country, with an account of some uncommon customs of the inhabitants; : likewise an account of the Highlands, with the customs and manners of the Highlanders. : To which is added, a letter relating to the military ways among the mountains, begun in the year 1726.* In two volumes. London, Printed for Ogle Duncan and Co. ...(Oliver and Boyd Edinburgh; M. Ogle Glasgow; and M. Keene Dublin, 1822).

Burt, E. and A. Simmons (eds.), *Burt's letters from the north of Scotland.* (Edinburgh-Chester Springs Pa: Birlinn. U. S. distributor, Dufour Editions, 1998).

Clerk, J., *History of the Union of Scotland and England* (Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson, 1993).

Cregeen, E., "Recollection of an Argyllshire Drover." *Scottish Studies*, III (1957), pp.143-146.

Defoe, D. and S. Richardson, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain divided into circuits or journies .. interspersed with useful observations: particularly fitted for the perusal of such as desire to travel over the island* (London: printed for D. Browne and 13 others, 1762).

Gilpin, W., *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1776, on several parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-lands of Scotland* (London: printed for R. Blamire, 1792).

Johnson, S. (ed.), *A journey to the Western Islands of Scotland / Samuel Johnson. The journal of a tour to the Hebrides / edited by James Boswell with an introduction and notes, by Peter Levi.* (London, 1993).

Kirke, T., *A modern account of Scotland being an exact description of the country, and a true character of the people and their manners* (London, 1679).

Knox, J., *A tour through the highlands of Scotland, and the Hebride Isles in MDCCLXXXVI* (London, Printed for J. Walter, 1787).

Laidly, W., *Authentick coppie of the tryal of Scot and Mackpherson, anno 1712 laid before the House, pursuant to their lordships order for that purpose, 18 Aprilis, 1737* (London: printed by John Baskett, 1737).

Larkin, *Sketch of a tour in the highlands of Scotland, through Perthshire, Argyleshire, and Inverness-shire, in September and October, 1818 with some account of the Caledonian Canal*. (London: printed for Baldwin Cradock and Joy, 1819).

Lettice, J., *Letters on a tour through various parts of Scotland, in the year 1792* (London: printed for T. Cadell, 1794).

Loch, D., *A tour through most of the trading towns and villages of Scotland containing notes and observations concerning the trade, manufactures, improvements, &c. of these towns and villages* (Edinburgh: Wal. and Tho. Ruddiman, 1778).

Macculloch, J., *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, containing descriptions of their scenery and antiquities, with an account of the political history .. present condition of the people, &c ... founded on a series of annual journeys between the years 1811 and 1821 ... in letters to Sir Walter Scott, bart.* (London: Longman Hurst Rees Orme Brown and Green, 1824).

Macky, J., *A journey through Scotland: in familiar letters from a gentleman here, to his friend abroad; being the third volume which compleats Great Britain* (London: printed for J. Pemberton and J. Hooke, 1723).

Martin, M., D. J. Macleod, et al., *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland*

circa 1695 (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1994).

Pennant, T., *A tour in Scotland, and voyage to the Hebrides; MDCCLXXII. : Part I - II* (London: Printed for Benj. White, 1790).

Pennant, T., *A tour in Scotland, 1769* (London: printed for Benj. White, 1790).

Pococke, R. and D. W. Kemp, *Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760* (Edinburgh: printed at the University press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish history society, 1887).

Ramsay, J. and A. Allardyce, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the eighteenth century from the mss. of John Ramsay, esq. of Ochertyre* (Edinburgh- London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1888).

Smith, A., *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London, 1966).

Youatt, W. and Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (Great Britain), *Cattle: their breeds, management, and diseases : with an index* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1834).

SECONDARY LITERATURE

Acworth, W. M., *The railways of Scotland: their present position. With a glance at their past and a forecast of their future* (London: J. Murray, 1890).

Anon., "Some 18th Century Scottish Opinions on the Importation of Irish Cattle into Great Britain." *Scottish Journal of Agriculture*, XVIII, 3 (1935), pp.236-242.

- Arnold, D. V., *Scottish cattle droving and the Hambleton Drove Road* (Osmotherley, 1982).
- Bil, A., *The shieling 1600-1840: the case of the central Scottish highlands* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1990).
- Bingham, C., *Beyond the highland line: Highland history and culture* (London: Constable, 1991).
- Brander, M., *The making of the Highlands* (London: Book Club Associates, 1980).
- Brown, P. H. *History of Scotland* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1911).
- Burnby, J. G. L., *Drovers and tanners of Enfield and Edmonton* (Enfield: Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, 1988).
- Cameron, A., *Our greatest Highland drover : John Cameron "Corrychoillie"* (Ardgour, Author, 1963).
- Cameron, A., *Bank of Scotland, 1695-1995: A Very Singular Institution* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1995).
- Checkland, S.G., *Scottish banking a history, 1695-1973* (Glasgow: Collins, 1975).
- Clark, G.N., *Guide to English Commercial Statistics*. (London, 1938).
- Corrie, J. M., *The "droving days" in the south-western district of Scotland* (Dumfries: J. Maxwell, 1915).
- Cullen, L. M. and T. C. Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh, Donald, 1977).

Cunninghame Graham, R. B., *A hatchment* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1913).

Devine, T. M., *Clanship to crofters' war: the social transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1994).

Devine, T. M., D. Dickson, et al., *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1983).

Dickinson, W. C. and G. S. Pryde, *A new history of Scotland* (London: Nelson, 1962).

Dodgshon, R. A., *From chiefs to landlords: social and economic change in the western Highlands and islands, c. 1493-1820* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

Donaldson, G., *Scotland: the shaping of a nation* (Argyll: House of Lochar, 1999).

Flinn, M. W., *Scottish population history from the 17th century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Franklin, T. B., *A history of Scottish farming* (London-New York: Nelson, 1952).

Fraser, G., *The Steel Bonnets. The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers* (London: Pan Books, 1979).

Gibson, A. J. S. and T. C. Smout, *Prices, food, and wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Graham, H. G., *The social life of Scotland in the eighteenth century* (London: A. and C. Black, 1900).

Graham, H. G., *The social life of Scotland in the eighteenth century* (London: A. &

C. Black, 1901).

Grant, I. F., *The social and economic development of Scotland before 1603* (Edinburgh- London: Oliver and Boyd, 1930).

Grant, I. F., *The economic history of Scotland* (London-New York: Longmans Green and Co. , 1934).

Grant, I. F., *Along a Highland road* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1980).

Grant, I. F., *Highland folk ways* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1995).

Gray, M., *The Highland economy, 1750-1850* (Westport Conn: Greenwood Press, 1976).

Haldane, A. R. B., *The drove roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997).

Hamilton, H., *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (London: Cass, 1932).

Hamilton, H., *An economic history of Scotland in the eighteenth century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

Handley, J. E., *Scottish farming in the eighteenth century* (London: Faber and Faber. (1953).

Hoon, E. E., *Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786* (David & Charles, 1968).

Houston, R. A. and I. Whyte, *Scottish society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge-New York, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Hughes, P.G., *Wales and the Drovers* (Carmarthen: Golden Grove Editions, 1988).

Inglish, H. R. G., "The Moving Patrol: A Forgotten Post Culloden Episode 1747-50." *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, L (1934), pp.219-223.

Lavery, B., *Nelson's Navy: The Ships, Men and Organisation 1793-1815* (London: Conway Maritime, 1989).

Lenman, B., *An economic history of modern Scotland, 1660-1976* (London: Batsford, 1977).

Lythe, S. G. E. and J. Butt, *An economic history of Scotland, 1100-1939* (Glasgow: Blackie, 1975).

MacAonghuis, I., G. Wilson, et al., *Bho dhrobbhadh Gaidhealach gu fasaichean Astrailia = From Highland drove to the Australian outback* (Sutherland: No. 19 Dornoch Studio, 1998).

Macinnes, A. I., *Clanship, commerce, and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996).

Maxwell, H., *Memories of the months. Fifth series.* (London: E. Arnold, 1909).

McCaffrey, J. F., *Scotland in the nineteenth century.* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

McCombie, W., *Cattle and cattle-breeders.* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1867).

McCusker John, "The Current Value of English Exports 1679 to 1800", *William and Mary Quarterly*, XVII, 3_(1971) pp.607-628.

Millett, S. M., *Git along ye bonnie dogies! : the Scottish cattle droves and the*

western cattle drives. (Columbus, Ohio: Scottish Lore Press, 1988).

Mitchell, J., *The shielings and drove ways of Loch Lomondside* (Stirling: J. Mitchell, 2000).

Mitchison, R. and P., Roebuck, *Economy and society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939* (Edinburgh- Atlantic Highlands NJ: J. Donald, distributed by Humanities Press, 1988).

Moore-Colyer, R. J., *Welsh Cattle Drovers : Agriculture and the Welsh Cattle Trade Before and During the Nineteenth Century*. (Ashbourne: Landmark, 2001).

Munn, C.W., *The Scottish Provincial Banking Companies 1747-1864* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1981).

Munro, N., *The history of the Royal Bank of Scotland, 1727-1927* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, 1928).

Murray, W. H., *Rob Roy MacGregor : his life and times* (Glasgow: R. Drew Pub., 1982).

O' Donovan, J., *The Economic History of Live Stock in Ireland* (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1940).

Roessner, P., *New Avenues of Trade. Der Aussenhandel Schottlands im 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Tradition und Revolution (1707-1783)* (Unpublished MA thesis, Goettingen, 2002).

Rorke, M., *Scottish Overseas Trade, 1275/86-1597* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2001).

Sanderson, M. H. B., *Scottish rural society in the sixteenth century* (Edinburgh-

Atlantic Highlands N J: J. Donald, 1982).

Saville, R., *Bank of Scotland: a History, 1695-1995* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996).

Scott, W. and G. Tulloch, *The two drovers, and other stories* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Scottish Record Office, *Guide to the National Archives of Scotland* (1996).

Shaw, F. J., *The northern and western islands of Scotland: their economy and society in the seventeenth century* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1980).

Smout, T. C., *Scottish trade on the eve of union, 1660-1707* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. (1963).

Symon, J. A., *Scottish farming, past and present* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959).

Thompson, F., *Crofting years* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 1997).

Toulson, S., *Drovers* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1980).

Watson, G., *The Border Reivers* (Warkworth: Sandhill, 1994).

Watson, J. *Scottish Overseas Trade 1597-1645* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2004).

Whyte, I., *Agriculture and society in seventeenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1979).

Whyte, I., *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: an economic and social history,*

c1050-c1750. (London-New York: Longman, 1995).

Woodward, D., "A comparative study of the Irish and Scottish livestock trades in the seventeenth century" in Cullen, L. M. and T. C. Smout (eds.), *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), pp.147-164.

Youngson, A. J., *After the forty-five; the economic impact on the Scottish Highlands* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1973).